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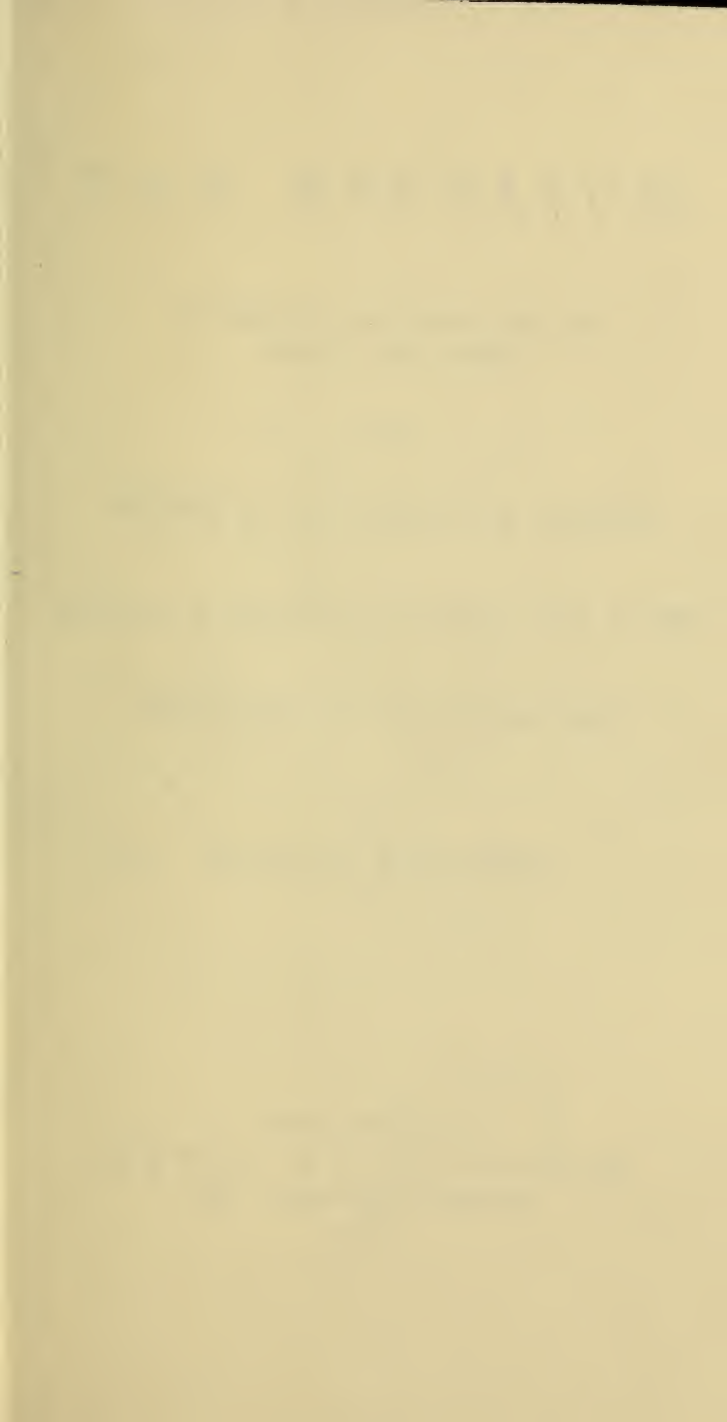
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THE PECULIUM;

AN ENDEAVOR TO THROW LIGHT ON
SOME OF THE CAUSES

OF THE

DECLINE OF THE SOCIETY OF FRIENDS,

ESPECIALLY IN REGARD TO ITS ORIGINAL CLAIM OF BEING

THE PECULIAR PEOPLE OF GOD.

BY

Rev. THOMAS HANCOCK.

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PHILADELPHIA:
HENRY LONGSTRETH,
1336 CHESTNUT STREET.
1860.

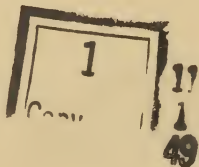
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“Mane nobiscum, DOMINE,
Et nos illustra Lumine,
Pulsa mentis caligine,
Mundum replens dulcedine.
Quando cor nostrum visitas,
Tunc lucet ei Veritas,
Mundi vilescit vanitas,
Et intus fervet Caritas.”

S. BERNARDI *Jubilus Rhythmicus de Nomine JESUS.*

“What Scripture of the New Testament can you read that does not prove this to be the Gospel state, a Kingdom of God into which none can enter but by being born of the SPIRIT, none can continue to be alive in it but by being led by the SPIRIT; and in which not a thought, or desire, or action, can be allowed to have any part in it, but as it is a fruit of the SPIRIT?”

WILLIAM LAW, M.A., *Address to the Clergy.*



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P R E F A C E .

A FEW sentences only are needful to explain the origin of the accompanying Essay. In the month of March, 1858, there appeared in the public prints the following announcement:—

SOCIETY OF FRIENDS.—PRIZE ESSAY.

A GENTLEMAN who laments that, notwithstanding the population of the United Kingdom has more than doubled itself in the last fifty years, the Society of Friends is less in number than at the beginning of the century; and who believes that the Society at one time bore a powerful witness to the world concerning some of the errors to which it is most prone, and some of the truths which are the most necessary to it; and that this witness has been gradually becoming more and more feeble, is anxious to obtain light respecting the causes of this change. He offers a PRIZE of ONE HUNDRED GUINEAS for the best ESSAY that shall be written on the subject, and a PRIZE of FIFTY GUINEAS for the one next in merit. He has asked three gentlemen, not members of the Society of Friends, to pronounce judgment on the Essays which shall be sent to them. They have all some acquaintance with the history of the Society, and some interest in its existing members; and as they are likely to regard the subject from different points of view, he trusts that their decision

will be impartial; that they will not expect to find their own opinions represented in the Essays; and that they will choose the one which exhibits most thought and Christian earnestness, whether it is favorable or unfavorable to the Society, whether it refers the diminution of its influence to degeneracy, to something wrong in the original constitution of the body, to the rules which it has adopted for its government, or to any extraneous cause.

Rev. F. D. MAURICE, Chaplain of Lincoln's Inn; Professor J. P. NICHOL, Glasgow; and Rev. E. S. PRYCE, Gravesend, have agreed to act as Adjudicators.

The number and ability of the Essays which this announcement elicited, while it afforded gratifying testimony to the interest which the subject has excited, added greatly to the labor and responsibility of the adjudicators. The illness of Professor Nichol, which has since terminated in his lamented death, was one of the "unforeseen hindrances" which occasioned the delay of the adjudicators' decision. It was given in August, 1859, in the following terms:—

SOCIETY OF FRIENDS.—PRIZE ESSAYS.

The adjudicators of the Prizes for the best Essays on the Causes of the Decline in the Society of Friends regret that they have been prevented from arriving at an earlier decision by unforeseen hindrances, by the large number and extent of the Essays submitted to them, and by their exceeding desire to deal justly. The terms of the original proposal do not permit the adjudicators to specify more than the two Essays which appear to them to have the superior claims; but they

feel it right to bear testimony to the great ability displayed by many of the other writers, and to record their conviction, that the publication of what they have written, by the individual authors, would, in many cases, be advisable, and for the public advantage. In performing the painful duty of setting aside so many estimable and elaborate productions, the adjudicators have necessarily been influenced by various classes of considerations: they have been deterred, in some cases, by the presence of irrelevant disquisitions, and they have been especially solicitous that the spirit manifested by the successful candidates be such as seemed most in accordance with the object for which the prizes were offered, as plainly set forth in the general advertisement. It has, after careful consideration, been determined that an Essay, bearing a motto from a report of the York Quarterly Meeting of the year 1855, should receive the first prize; and one bearing the motto *Verbum, vita, lux*, the second prize. A degree of hesitation having been expressed by the adjudicators as to the relative place which ought to be assigned to the two successful essays, the donor of the prizes has generously offered to make the second prize equal to the first. The writers of these Essays evidently belong to different schools, and contemplate the subject from entirely different points of view. No one of the adjudicators wishes to be held responsible for the sentiments of either writer. But they are unanimous in hoping that, in choosing both, they are doing their best to promote the objects of the giver of the prizes, and to fulfill their trust.

J. P. NICHOL.

F. D. MAURICE.

E. S. PRYCE.

The Essay to which the second prize was adjudged is printed in the present volume.

Whatever hope I may have had when I commenced,—when I had finished the following Essay I certainly had no hope at all of seeing my name set forth as one of the successful competitors. I felt convinced that my work could not answer to the real heart's desire of the generous offerer of these prizes. His ultimate hope must have been that some expedient might be brought forward by which Quakerism could be saved. The whole tenor of my Essay goes to prove that its salvation is impossible. The donor "*laments* that the Society of Friends is less in number than it was at the beginning of the century." The reader will see that my own convictions, as expressed in this Essay, compel me rather to *rejoice*.

I know that this language must seem strange (perhaps pitiable) to those who have been born, who have been trained, who have lived their life in Quakerism; to those to whom it has been the universe, who have known nothing outside of it; to those, above all, who have found God within it and through it—found Him as their loving FATHER, their hourly Teacher and Saviour. Perhaps, too, they will be surprised to find that which they believed to be peculiarly their own, their Society's, here spoken of as least so. Perhaps they will be still more surprised to discover so many and such vital points of affinity between

themselves and those whom they have always fancied to be (and who, in one sense, are) at the very greatest distance from them. I should, indeed, be glad if I could but know that this Essay would make any Quaker feel that there are fewer obstacles than he supposes (even in the principles of his own Society) to the universal union of all Christians. But I dare hardly hope so much as that this Essay will lead any one Quaker to take, as his first step toward the re-binding of Christians, that step which our Blessed LORD Himself made the visible bond (as his indwelling SPIRIT is the invisible bond) of Christian union—the humble and solemn reception of Holy Baptism in the Name of THE FATHER, THE SON, and THE HOLY GHOST, at the hands of those whom He, by the rulers and throne-holders of His Spiritual Israel, has appointed. Any union that comes from our wills, our compromises, our intolerant tolerations, will have no binding power, will soon snap. A baptism that is dependent upon *our* conversion, *our* repentance, *our* faith, *our* excitement, *our* consciousness, *our* choice—whether, like that of the Anabaptists, it be a baptism of water, or, like that of the Quakers, a baptism of imaginary fire—will derive its virtue from us, and not from the HOLY GHOST—will be (as each of these baptisms has been) the cause of another separation, instead of the bond of union.

The purport of this Essay is historical rather than doctrinal, a consideration which has made me keep out of it any dissertation on that Regeneration by Baptism of which the profoundest and holiest of the first Quakers have written.* Their constant Idea of Baptism is the Idea of the Catholic Church, the Idea expressed again and again by S. Augustine. I will give two instances, both of them from his Homilies on the Gospel of St. John. "It may be," he says, "a minister baptizes who belongs not to the number of the sons of GOD, since he lives wickedly, and acts wickedly; what, then, shall console us? HE *it is Who baptizes.*"† Again, "We confess that both good and wicked men are in the Church, but only in the manner of grain and chaff. Sometimes he who is baptized by the grain is chaff; and he who is baptized by the chaff is grain. Otherwise, if he who is baptized by the grain does well, and he who is baptized by the chaff does ill, then it is false,—HE *it is Who baptizes.*"‡

* Especially the *Baptismologia; or, Treatise concerning Baptisms*, by Thomas Lawson.

† "Licet baptizet minister, &c. &c. HIC EST QUI BAPTIZAT."—*Hom.* vii. c. 4, p. 6, tom. xv. [Ed. Caillau.]

‡ "Nos fatemur in Ecclesiâ et bonos et malos, &c. &c. HIC EST QUI BAPTIZAT."—*Hom.* vi. c. 12, pp. 472, 473, tom. xiv. [Ed. Caillau.] *Omnia Opera S. August.*

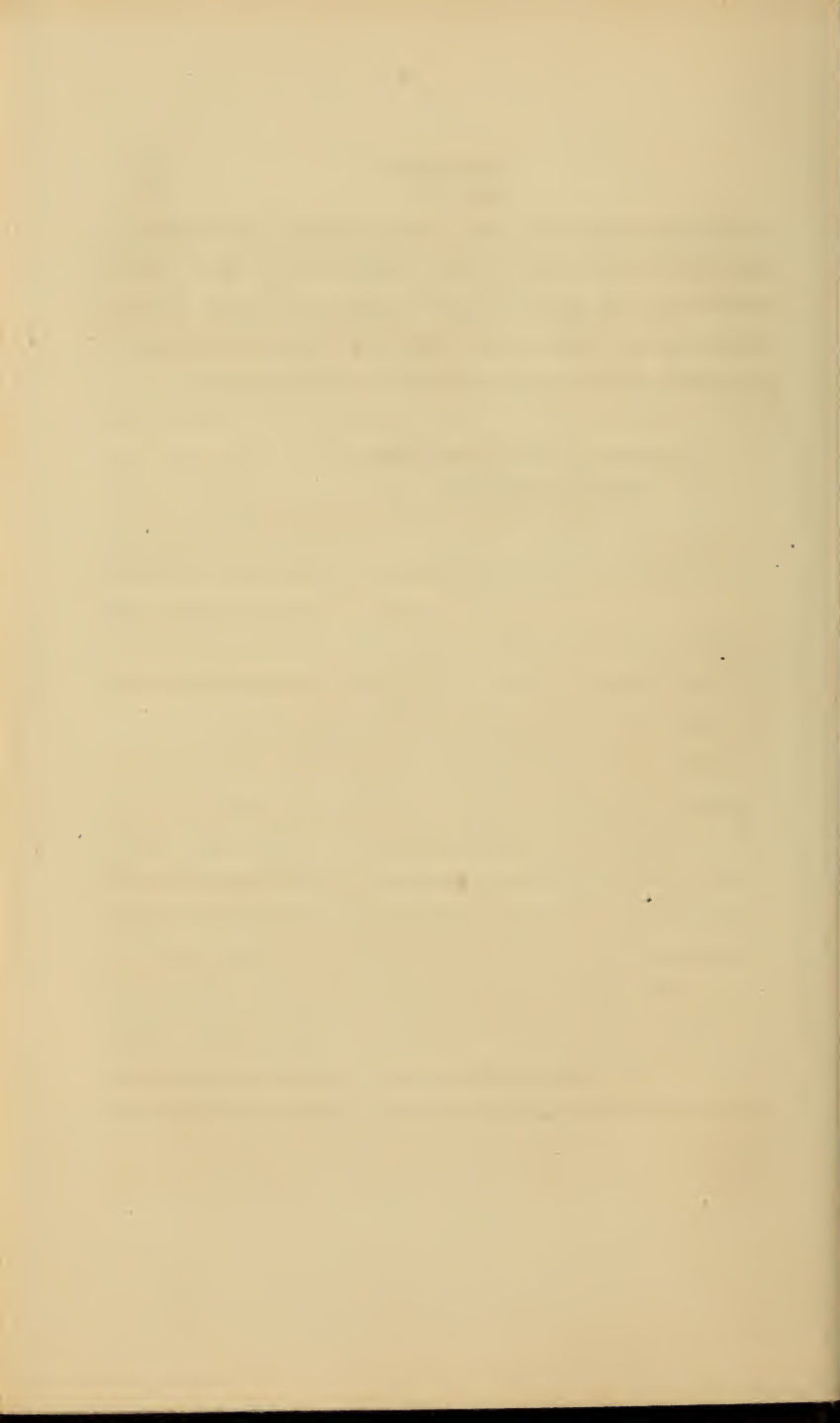
No words, no man, could make a fitter passage for me to that second class of readers whom I hope my Essay will reach : I mean my fellow Churchmen. They will soon see with what hope and thankfulness I look upon that great revival of the Church and of *churchliness* which is giving so marked a characteristic to our own century. Puritanism, Quakerism, Methodism, did great good to special times, to special classes, to special places. But a revival of the Catholic Church must bear blessing for all men, all peoples, all places, all future time. This thought it is, which makes me dread lest we should, by any fault of ours, cripple this Catholic work by mere Sectarian limitations. The Adversary's work is always close to the REDEEMER'S work ; wherever we see the Good Seed falling, we may be sure that the Sower of Tares is not far off. Brethren, *we* do not belong to ourselves, *we* are not our own witnesses : *we* belong to the whole world, *our* witness is in every man's conscience. Our *cause* is not Protestantism, Puritanism, Quakerism, nor Methodism,—but ONE Body. Brethren, every man, woman, and child in this world was created by the FATHER to be baptized into the Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church. JESUS CHRIST has given all mankind to Her ; He has given all mankind a claim upon Her. Our charity, as her children, ought to be

greater than the charity of other men; our toleration ought to be wider, more tender, more inviting than the toleration of Separatists. The Catholic Church called the Donatist schismatics "brethren." She had none the less hatred of Schism. The more the charity of GOD is shed abroad in our hearts, the more hateful Schism will be to us. She, the living Representative of JESUS in this world, ought to be to men all that He was. No assumption, no pride, no untender or insulting phrases, ought to pass her lips in her dealings with the Samaritans who surround her.

No forgetfulness that she is the everlasting Judah, the real Kingdom of the SON of David, need be involved in her acknowledging as the gift of her KING all the grace and the piety that she finds in Samaria. Samaritans will not more truly rise up in judgment against Jews, than will Separatists against Churchmen. Oh, that we could always remember that the Separatist mentioned in the Gospel was casting out devils in the Name of JESUS, when the Apostolical College could not cast them out! I should be very thankful if this little book would lead a few Churchmen to know one section of Schismatics better; to find in them more to love, more to reverence; to recognize in them the gift of that Son

of GOD who was Incarnate in all Flesh; Who tasted death for every man; Who lighteth every man that cometh into the world; in Whose Mystical Body, as we are saying at this season, Almighty GOD has knit together His elect in One Communion and Fellowship.

*Nottingham, Thursday in the Octave
of All Saints, 1859.*



THE PECULIUM.

BOOK I.

THE IDEA OF QUAKERISM.

CHAPTER I.

- i. Introductory—*Necessary Decay of Human Societies—Presumptive Decay of the Quaker Society.*
- ii. Decay of *Spiritual Societies.*
- iii. The *Catholic Church*, the Universal Society, *alone exempt* from the Law of Social Decay.
- iv. Testimony of all Christian Societies to this Exemption—*What is the Catholic Church?*
- v. *Quakerism* originally claimed to be the Catholic Church—Modern Quakers have *given up* the Claim—This Concession a Prognostication of Quaker Decay.
- vi. Difficulties of Modern Quakers from this Concession—Quakers have *lost faith* in Quakerism.
- vii. Decay of Quakerism to be *expected.*

i. It is the lot of societies made up of men and women to be subject to a law of decay. No age or nation has ever given birth to a body, guild, association, or church, fitted for every time and all races. Indeed, times and

nations themselves, being but greater societies, are always obeying this very law. The old Ethnic age died a natural death; the Renaissance could not revive it—it only galvanized an imitation of it. The Mediæval age could not keep itself alive; and all the earnest and romantic men in Christendom, striving unitedly, would never revive it: Egypt, Greece, Rome, the Gothic kingdoms died, as our friends have done—as we ourselves shall do—because they *must*. So far as Quakerism is a society made up of men and women, we should *expect* to see it obey the universal law of social death. It would appear strange and disorderly if it alone continued fresh, lively, and bearing fruit.

ii. Nor does the comprehension of a diviner purpose and of spiritual strength, exempt any society from this imperturbable law. The State and the Church have been served and thwarted by society after society, which begun in the spirit and ended in the flesh. Old philosophical schools, Hindoo and Chinese brotherhoods, early anchorites and monks, the Benedictines, the Franciscans and Dominicans, the first Protestants, the Puritans, the Methodists, banded themselves together to know wisdom, to do the will of God, to fulfill all righteousness, to become the most utter and unresisting organs and instruments of the SPIRIT, to save the world, to reform the Church, to live an entirely spiritual life, to taste the eternal life into which death cannot enter; yet these awful intuitions, these sublime purposes, could not preserve them; they are all either dying or dead. The morbid and unspiritual societies which Quakerism arose to witness against, had assumed at their birth that very position toward older

societies which Quakerism was assuming toward them. They believed and proclaimed the same things against prior societies which Quakerism was proclaiming against them. We should naturally expect that Quakerism would follow them, and that it is even now marching with more or less haste, overtaken by some, but overtaking others, in that valley of the shadow of death where the old spiritual societies of the world are either lying dead or dying. It would be wonderful indeed, if, like the prophet Ezekiel in the valley of dead bones, Quakerism *alone* were seen living and vigorous in that most solemn of all the pathways of history and society, the way of perpetual decay and death. I know only one premiss upon which such a sight is possible.

iii. For there is a Society above the reach of this law, un contemplated in the promulgation of it, and unaffected by any of its penalties. The Elect Body of which the Divine Uniter of God and mankind is the Head, has the promise of eternal continuance. If it appears (as it has appeared a hundred times) to weary, decay, or die, in one time or one place, it is only to revive or blossom forth in another. As the Asiatic and African branches of the Church sicken with idolatry or worldliness, or are cut down by Mahometanism, the European branches are reformed; as heresies canker and blight one fair bough or another of the great tree of the Church, vigorous shoots sprout out in unexpected places, and races who have never known anything but weariness, rest themselves and are refreshed under the shadow of CHRIST. This is the Catho-

lic Church, the Peculium, the LORD'S Body, the People of God, the Holy Nation, the Spiritual Israel.

iv. All the Christian Societies which have ever existed, agree in acknowledging the everlasting continuance of the Catholic Church. They differ when they come to determine what the Catholic Church is. Some say it is one of these societies—their own society; all of them have, at some part of their history, claimed, or do now claim, to be *the* Church. Others say that it consists *visibly* of all societies except those they like least—most likely of all except Romanism and Unitarianism; *invisibly* of all those in a state of grace in any of these societies, even in Romanism and Unitarianism. Others declare that no society existing is the true Seed and People of GOD; and, consequently, proceed to found the one Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church upon their own fancies, upon private experiences, upon misread history, upon the Bible, or upon all together.

v. The first Quakers announced this claim for their Society in its most uncompromising and intolerant form. Many of the Quaker leaders would not grant even the name of Christian to any one who worshipped apart from themselves. Quaker and Christian were mere interchangeable terms. Common-prayer-men and Christian, Presbyterian and Christian, Independent and Christian, Anabaptist and Christian, Ranter and Christian, were not interchangeable terms.* The distinction is of immense

* Edward Burroughs' *Works*, fol., 1672, p. 416.—“All you churches and sects, by what name soever you are known in the world, you are the seed of the great whore.” And the

importance. No one can understand the decay of Quakerism, who leaves out this mighty contradiction which the sons give to the fathers of Quakerism. The primitive Friends said that Quakerism was *the Church*. Modern Friends say it is *a part of the Church*. Parts must die for the whole to live. If Quakerism be a part, it can only have a particular, dependent, contingent life; we can have little doubt of its ultimate decay, we can have no certainty of its continuing life. "When that which is perfect is come," the Apostle says, "that which is in part shall be done away."* In the natural or physical sphere of the Kingdom of God we see it is so. The life of the body exhibits perpetual death and decay of parts: we cut off the boughs that the tree may live. So the Great Husbandman of the Church is perpetually lopping His own tree that it may bring forth more fruit. A time comes to every bough when it brings forth nothing, or brings forth leaves only. If Quakerism be merely a branch (and not alone the retractations of Quakers, but the course of the world also, show that it is *not the Church*), a time will surely come when He will lop off Quakerism. It has

whole of his tract, *A Measure of the Times*, 4to., London, 1657, pp. 40. See, too, *A Testimony from Northampton Prison*. By William Dewsbury, Joseph Storr, and John Whitehead. "The *English Church* held up by you, the English teachers (that is, the *Puritan Schism* of the Commonwealth), who are made by the will of man, those who are come to *the Church of God*, whom you call Quakers, deny such." 4to., London, 1655. Also, *A Return to the Priests (Ministers) about Beverly*, 4to., 1653.—&c.

* 1 Corinthians xiii. 10.

certainly been pruned very many times. The schisms of Perrot, Pennyman, Keith, Bugg, the White Quakers, the Hicksites, the Progressive Friends, are all indications of the pruning hand of the LORD.

vi. The full realization of this change of the relation of Quakerism to the Catholic Church must bring a great deal of conflict and doubt to any Quaker who has begun to search the early records of the Society for light on its present decay. He would scarcely know whether to retain George Fox and Edward Burroughs, or Joseph John Gurney and William Allen. He would soon see that he must give up the one or the other. They have scarcely anything in common but their name and their clothes. The two former are connected with astonishing success, with apostolic earnestness, but also with fanaticism and intolerance; they would lay a burden upon him which it would have been easier to carry in the seventeenth century than he would find it in the nineteenth. The two latter are connected with peace and serenity, with earnestness also, though of a weaker kind; with the most placid tolerance, but also with evident decay. He would be inclined, perhaps, to doubt whether this determination of the later Quakers, that Quakerism is *not* the Catholic Church, but *a part* of it, is a desirable one. He might ask himself, Is it even one that *can be made*? *Who* made the change? Preachers of sermons, writers of advices, yearly epistles, men and women with their "concerns" hither and thither? *Could* men and women make such a change, not in the outward form, but in the very nature and essence of the Household of God? Or, perhaps, an

evangelical education might lead him to conclude that Fox and Burroughs were good men, but not well instructed in the doctrines of grace; and that Gurney and Crewdson were improvers of Quakerism.

These, then, are the two great characteristic features of the body in the periods of extension and decay: in the period of its growth it proclaimed itself to be the One Church, moved and guided by the Inspiring Light, to which every one who was led by that Light was sure to join himself; in the period of decline it proclaims itself to be only a fraction of the One Church. In 1658 there was not a Quaker living who did not believe Quakerism to be the one only true Church of the living God. In 1858 there is not a Quaker living who does believe it.

vii. Whether it be or be not *a part* of the Catholic Church, I neither ask nor answer here. If it be not, it is *sure* to decay; if it be, it is *likely* to decay. No one will deny that the Church of Jerusalem was a true and living part of the Catholic Church, and yet the Church of Jerusalem has decayed. Decay, under the first supposition, would spring from the necessary sentence and seed of death in the body itself; decay, under the second supposition, would proceed from degeneracy.

The purpose of this chapter is to show—first, that there is but one condition upon the exhibition of which Quakerism could continue perpetually, on which its decay could not be expected; and, secondly, that Quakerism, by its own confession, does not exhibit this condition, and therefore the death of Quakerism must be expected. I shall not enlarge upon it here, because I believe all the after-part of this Essay will throw back light upon it.

CHAPTER II.

THE DIVINE SEED IN CHRISTIAN SECTS AND THE WAYS
IN WHICH IT IS CONDITIONED BY OUTWARD CAUSES.

- i. The *Divine Seed*.
- ii. This Seed the Source of all *Divine Fruits* in Quakerism.
- iii. The Divine Seed conditioned by the *Human Sower*—Individualist and Personal Influences instanced in Quakerism.
- iv. The Divine Seed conditioned by the Character and Changes of the *Soil Without*—The Eternal and Transient in Quakerism.
- v. The Divine Seed conditioned by a *Divine Edict*—Given for a time and in measure.

i. OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST compares the growth of the Kingdom of Grace to the growth of natural seed. He carried out the analogy so fully that I shall be in no wise departing from His method, but keeping most strictly in the line of it, if I take it as my guiding rule along the series of inquiries upon which we are now entering. The mystic theologians assert that the natural and supernatural seeds of GOD have affinities and points of touch more subtle and inherent than the unenlightened eye can perceive. Whatever modern Quakers are, their earliest representatives were certainly mystics; and, after the idea of

Light, the idea of Seed is that by which they most frequently express the working of the Divine Principle in the heart of a man or of society.

ii. Of this seed of the Kingdom of Grace our LORD Himself has always been understood by Christian people to be the Provider and the real Sower. It has been HIS SPIRIT exciting and aiding prophets, apostles, missionaries, founders of orders, reformers, witnesses for righteousness' sake in every age, which has made them effectual sowers. The Seed they sowed was the WORD of GOD; that is, in the most solemn sense, the First Begotten of the FATHER, GOD Himself. But *who* could plant GOD in men's hearts? None, except GOD Himself. GOD has been the true Sower. Wherever love, truth, wisdom, or righteousness, or any *fruit* of the HOLY SPIRIT is found, there the *Seed* of the HOLY SPIRIT must first have been. No one, with only an hour's acquaintance with the lives and books of the Quakers, could honestly doubt that the true *fruits* of the Divine SPIRIT are found in Quakerism. Quakerism, therefore, contains a true *Seed* and Principle, one which existed before and apart from George Fox and the seekers of the Commonwealth era, one which he himself declares he was given, and neither discovered nor made, but which the Light of CHRIST discovered to him in himself, and enlightened him to perceive in all other men. The causes of the decay of Quakerism cannot, of course, be found in this. The Divine Seed of its life and truth must be of the Divine nature, eternal; it must not only be quite *above* all the conditions of time, alteration,

and decay; but also, on the other hand, the *very cause* of life, growth, and fruition wherever it is sown.

iii. But since the Divine Seed of the truth passes through the hands of men, and since men are so different, it could not be but that it is given a preparatory coloring, a mental chemistry of some kind, from the human sower. This may be more clearly understood in our time than it was in that of the rise of Quakerism. The claimants to direct revelations or illumination at that period, which was so full of them, were expected to manifest their claims in a non-natural and non-rational manner; everything individual and characteristic about them was expected to be suppressed; they were to be moved by the Divine SPIRIT as machines,* not as human spirits with a reason and a will. Multitudes of the first Quaker converts responded to this demand in the most extraordinary fashion. But the tendency of our own time sets in quite the opposite direction. Writers who firmly believe in the unity of that SPIRIT from Whom the Scriptures proceed, seem to take an almost pedantic delight in showing their discernment of the difference of manifestation: they tell us that this expression is Hebrew—I should say Hebraic; that this is Greek—Hellenic, I mean; that certain churches and times are characterized by the predominance of the *Pauline*, some of the *Petrine*, others of the *Johannine* element. However, the fact is true that the

* Thus Henry More defends himself from the charge of being an Enthusiast: "For God doth not *ride me* as a horse, and guide me I know not whither myself; but *converseth with me* as a Friend."—*Second Lash of Alazonomastix*. London, 1656.

Divine Seed is *affected in some degree by the human sower*, and may grow or decay according to the method in which *he* handles, casts, modifies, interprets it,—internally, by the tone and character of his mind and circumstances of his life; externally, by his energy and enthusiasm: first, as an opinion or doctrine; secondly, as a growing body or society.

No one, I suppose, would be inclined to deny that original Quakerism carries very strong *personal* characteristics upon every corner of its being. Its form, its discipline, its language, its customs, are not the characteristics of *any time* or of *all times*, they bear the unmistakable mark of *one* peculiar century. Neither are they the form, discipline, opinions, or customs likely to arise from *any* spiritual man. They bear the characteristic marks of *one* peculiar and representative man. And, indeed, we might legitimately divide the history of Quakerism into periods or into schools, each time or each section being distinguished by the preponderance of some *personal element*. One period we might call Foxite Quakerism; another, Penn-and-Barclayite Quakerism; a third, Joseph-John-Gurneyite Quakerism. Or, we might name the first kind spiritual Quakerism; the second, doctrinal or scholastic Quakerism; the third, Puritan or modern evangelical Quakerism.

iv. Again. After this seed leaves the hand of the sower it has to accommodate itself to very *different soils*. After it has grown up into a plant of more or less strength, service, and grandeur, it has to endure and resist the lightnings, the rainy winds and tempests, the arid, dry

seasons, and all the healthy and unhealthy alternations of the spiritual universe. There might be that both true and erroneous in the hearts and minds of Englishmen in the middle of the seventeenth century, which demanded something like Quakerism, and to which Quakerism would appear to be the answer,—both the eternal necessary truth in Quakerism, and the outward partial reflex of that truth, and all the lesser contingencies bound up with that reflex, the characteristics and individualities of its promulgators, and the loose, drifting opinions of the time. That craving may not exist in our time; or, rather, it exists *in spirit* alone, and needs its answer and satisfaction in a very *different reflex or form*, with other kind of contingencies, with personal characteristics of men living and working among *us* ourselves, mingled with opinions and peculiarities of *our* time. For that which is eternal in Quakerism, its idea or principle, must be necessary to every time, because it is an effluence from that LIFE, a ray from that LIGHT, Who is above and beneath, before and after all times, the LORD of all the seasons and changes of the universe; HE with whom a day is as a thousand years; the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever. The nineteenth century needs *Him* as much as the seventeenth, and needs as much each of the several principles or graces of His Being. Statesmen, priests, leaders of thought, artists, men of science in Victoria's reign, want faith in and use of the Quaker *principle*, just as much as the poor peasants in the Vale of Beavor and old Nottingham, under Cromwell and Charles the Second. The *reflex or form* of that principle may have been peculiarly

adapted to that kind of men and kind of time, and yet as plainly unfit for us and for our time. And so, indeed, actual history (that real recording book of the judgment of GOD) proves it. Great ecclesiastical movements, changes in the course and temper of thinking discoveries, "every wind of doctrine,"* are as much the ministers of GOD, and do His will in the spiritual world, upon His spiritual seed, and upon the growths from that seed, as do the natural wind, rain, and lightning upon His natural seed in His physical kingdom; and it is these ministers of His which are destroying Quakerism.

v. Lastly. The Seed sown may carry the sentence of death in itself: it may be *meant for a time only*. But I spoke of the seed of which George Fox was the sower, as containing a Divine and, therefore, an eternal element: if it did so, how can its life cease? I will answer by transferring the Quaker proposition concerning the principle of Divine life in a man to the principle of Divine life in a religious society. "GOD," said Robert Barclay, "has communicated and given unto every man" (substitute "*unto every religious society*") "*a measure of the Light of His own SON, a measure of grace, or a measure of the SPIRIT, which the Scripture expresses by several names, as sometimes of the Seed of the Kingdom.*"† Every religious movement and society, in so far as it is human and has had a man for its outward originator (other than the Divine MAN), as such must die. GOD'S

* Eph. iv. 14.

† *Apology*, Proposition xi. ch. v. p. 107. Baskerville, 4to., 1765.

SPIRIT may have been granted to him and to his society in very great measure ; all the good and vigorous fruition it has ever put forth must be the result of that grant ; but it *was* granted *by measure*. A time will come, that time has come to all societies that have any history, when its life will be languid, and the good fruits grow fewer. Only one MAN partook of the SPIRIT *without measure*, the SON of GOD Himself ; and only that Universal Society which He began with the audible call of His own voice, and the imposition of His very hands, and the inspiration of His very breath, has, as we assumed in the commencement of this Essay, the seed for an everlasting continuance.

CHAPTER III.

THE DIVINE PRINCIPLE OF QUAKERISM, AND THE TWO
LEADING QUAKER DOCTRINES.

- i. The *Light Within*.
- ii. The Light Within proclaimed by George Fox as the *Central Truth of the Gospel*—His Experience—*Experiences* of the Co-founders.
- iii. The *Process of the Light Within* upon the Soul—The Light the Principle of Conviction, of Salvation, of a New Birth, of the Church, of Ministry, of Doctrine, of Power.
- iv. The Light Within a *Divine Person*—The Living Word.
- v. This Person the *Principle* of Quakerism—Language of Fox, Penn, Naylor.
- vi. The Light in *all Men*—Universal Sympathies of the first Quakers.
- vii. The two leading Quaker Doctrines: (a) *The Immediate Light Within*; (b) *The Universality of the Light Within*.
- viii. *Effect of Faith* in these Doctrines on the first Quakers.
- ix. Results of Faith in the *Immediate Light Within*.
- x. Results of Faith in the *Universality of the Light*.
- xi. Witness borne by these Doctrines for the *Race*—*Against the World*.
- xii. Witness borne by them *Against the Sects*.
- xiii. Witness borne by them *Against the Church*.

i. THE distinctive idea or principle of Quakerism—

the heart from which its first wonderful vitality proceeded—is to be found in its actual belief of the truth of Saint John's declaration: that the True Light—the WORD and SON of GOD—enlightens every man who comes into the world.* From the very first, the doctrine of the Light Within has been felt to be the centre of the Quaker system. Against that doctrine all the acute controversialists who have attacked Quakerism through the whole course of its history have mustered and opposed their arguments. They saw that if they could disprove the truth of *that*, they would strike Quakerism at the very root.

ii. The founder of Quakerism and his companions asserted this indwelling presence of the Divine WORD in all their appeals, and pointed to it as the reason of them. They put forward their belief in it as the first and central truth of the Gospel, as a full and sufficient justification for their forsaking all existing Christian societies. All the men and women in England at that time were excited about religion: it was not only the life and business of the pious—it was the daily chatter, the ordinary amusement of the worldly. Their king and bishops, in endeavoring to carry out a religion *they* fancied, had lost life and office; the Commons, to carry out a religion they fancied, had overturned an old Church and State, and were trying to make new ones.

To a man who desired above everything else to be, as George Fox says his own father was called, "*righteous Christer*,"† and the sole business of whose life was the

* St. John i. 9.

† From his baptismal name *Christopher*.—*Journal*, p. 1, fol.

single-hearted endeavor to discover GOD, all this excitement about reformation of Church and State, and purification of doctrine, must have seemed a mere outside matter. The very SAVIOUR, the object of their purified doctrine, the Head of their reforming Church, was apprehended by them outwardly alone.* “The faith of the sects,” said he, “stands in a Man who died at Jerusalem sixteen hundred years ago.”† What could this help him? He wanted a deliverer for that year, for that hour, a light for every moment. He found in himself, he says, two contradictory thirsts, “one after the creatures, to get help and strength there; and the other after the LORD the Creator and His SON JESUS CHRIST.”‡ It was *within his own heart* that these two tendencies contradicted one another, and strove to cast out one another. Let the Church of England be governed by bishops, or by presbyters, or be left ungoverned; let public prayers be extempore or from a book; let water baptism be by dipping, or sprinkling; let the Bible be a Calvinistic, or Arminian book, or something between the two—this war would still be going on in the

* See the healthy queries of Cromwell: “Do we own one another more for the Grace of God, and for the Spiritual Regeneration, and for the image of CHRIST in each other, or for our agreement with each other in this or that form of opinion? Do we search first for the *Kingdom of CHRIST within us* before we search one without us? Do we not more contend for Saints having rule in the World than over their own hearts?” *A Declaration of His Highness the Lord Protector, inviting the people of England and Wales to a day of Solemn Fast.*—*Mercurius Politicus*, March 16 to 23, 1654.

† *Journal*, fol. ed. 1694.

‡ *Ibid.* pp. 8-9.

hidden battle-field of his own heart; and no decision of such mere external questions could give victory to one side or the other *there*.

He separated himself "from all priests and professors, carnal talk and talkers," and attended only to "CHRIST, who had the key, and who," says he "opened the door of Life and Light unto me." As the Light appeared all appeared that is out of the Light—darkness, death, temptations, the unrighteous, the ungodly—all was manifest and seen in the Light." In CHRIST'S Light he saw the evil of his own mere creaturely thirst, and of all the deeds and thoughts which flowed from it: in CHRIST'S Light he found the satisfaction of that higher thirst after real fellowship with GOD: in CHRIST'S Light he found power to subdue and keep under all the selfish and wilful tendencies of his being. The Grace of GOD must be sought for and felt *in a man's own heart* if he would be delivered from his sin and his fear by that Grace. All the Sects he saw looking to old writers, to learned languages, to doctrines, to an improved Church system, to the Bible, to favorite preachers, for the Light. But it was not in any of them. The true Light was within man himself. They need not believe it on his testimony. The LIGHT HIMSELF would witness that HE was there, if they would cease from their own works, wait, and let Him shine forth and manifest their darkness, and work in them.

The first preachers of Quakerism, also, who travelled and labored with George Fox at its commencement—Howgill, Naylor, Burroughs, Dewsbury, Audland, and others—who were, like him, illiterate men have most of

them left personal descriptions of their conversion. They might one and all be described in nearly the same words;* for they one and all found rest for their hearts and minds in the firm faith that a SAVIOUR *within them* was their need, and that they had one. With this one central doctrine of the Light Within they went up and down England, doing battle with all the Sects which had arisen over the prostrate Church.

iii. They spake of this Light Within as the only true *Principle of Conviction*; in Solomon's words, as "the candle of the LORD searching all the inward parts,"† shining into the most secret corners of the heart, and revealing every sin, however petty, wherever hidden.

They spake of this Light Within as the only true *Principle of Salvation*. By single-hearted trust in this, every soul might be delivered from its old bondage to the Devil, to itself, and to the world.

They spoke of this Light Within as the only true *Principle of Regeneration*, as that very Seed of the New

* See—(I.) W. Sewell, *History of the Rise, Increase, and Progress of the Christian People called Quakers*: Conversion of Howgill p. 54; of Burroughs, p. 55, &c., &c., London, fol., 1722. (II.) John Whitehead, *Enmitie between the Two Seeds*: written in gaol, London, 4to., 1655. (III.) John Perrot, Preface to his *Mystery of Baptism*: written in Rome, Prison of Madmen, London, 4to., 1664. (IV.) William Dewsbury, *A Discovery of the Great Enmity of the Serpent against the Seed of the Woman*, contains his autobiography, under the title "The First Birth," London, 4to., 1655, &c.

† Proverbs xx. 27.

Birth whose growth enabled a man gradually to cast off the sins, errors, and diseases of the old nature, and to put on the truth and holy healthfulness of that New and yet Original, because *Eternal* Nature, recovered for all men by the LORD JESUS CHRIST.

They spoke of the Light Within as the only true *Principle of Association*, or ground of a Church. By submitting to this they would find CHRIST's Divine Light and Life in themselves yearning after, and seeking to join itself to that which is of him in every other; and forming and extending, out of the very necessity of its nature, the Society or Kingdom of GOD.

They spoke of this Light Within as the only true *Principle of Vocation*, or direction. By taking heed to this every Christian may see at once what he is to avoid, or what to do; and may hear whenever he faithfully listens (as they were continually quoting), a voice saying, "*This is the way, walk ye in it.*"*

They spoke of this Light Within as the only true *Principle of Illumination*. By this their minds were enlightened to perceive truth from error, right from wrong; to discern men's spirits and conditions; to see the deceits in opposers, and the wants in those who needed teaching.

They spoke of the Light Within as the only true *Principle of Inspiration*. By this they had breathed into them Truth to declare, and the courage, energy, and wisdom to declare it faithfully.

iv. This unusual manner of speaking of the Light Within as the one efficient cause of the *whole* regenerate

* Isaiah xxx. 21.

life of the soul, may, perchance, lead some reader to misapprehend the intention of the primitive Quakers when they did so. Our notion of Light as a mere enlightener, as the opposite of darkness, is sure to mislead us if we transfer it to the Spiritual Light here spoken of, if we use it as our means of understanding that Light. When the first Quakers spoke of the Light as sufficient to salvation, they did not baldly mean that it had the property of enlightening or manifesting, that it gave a true understanding of the position of matters; they always apprehended it as it was spoken of by Saint John, as a *Living Light*. "*In Him was Life, and the Life was the Light of men.*"* "This Light," says George Keith and Benjamin Furly, "hath Life in it, and an universal virtue and power to reach unto the whole man, not only to cure the blindness of his understanding, but the perverseness of his will and the depravedness of his affections." Again: "We do not understand the Light, or Grace, or Gift of GOD and JESUS CHRIST, as separate from GOD and CHRIST, for that is as impossible as to separate beams from the sun, for GOD and CHRIST are one with the Light that comes from Them for ever."†

* St. John i. 4.

† *Universal Free Grace of the Gospel Asserted; or, the Light of the Glorious Gospel.* 4to. pp. 136. London, 1671. See the Preface, p. vi. "Not, as is asserted, the Arminian, or Papist notion of universal grace. They both deny that the Universal Light which is given to all is the *Light Evangelical*, or light for the faith of the Gospel to rest in. Therefore, they do not hold it forth as the immediate object of the Christian faith.—Secondly they deny the way and manner of its operation to be

v. The "Principle," therefore, of the primitive Quaker Theology was *a Person*. That Principle was GOD Himself; or, was that HOLY SPIRIT by Whom the Divine Unity makes known His presence in us, and through Whom the FATHER and the SON come to us and take up Their abode with us. William Penn adopted the expression of Plotinus, "the Divine Principle in man," as an ancient testimony to Quaker doctrine. Some modern controversialists have made merry with this expression, and ask if a Principle can make "groaning which cannot be uttered?" if a Principle can "intercede for us?" if we can be "baptized into the name of a Principle?" Yes, we can. Where the Principle is a gracious, enlightening Being, a Divine Person, as He is to Whose presence William Penn and George Fox witnessed, we surely can.

I will append some instances of this use from Quaker writings. "While I lay thus in prison," (at Worcester), says George Fox, "it came upon me to state *our Principle* to the King, not with particular relation to my own sufferings, but for his better information concerning *our Principle* and us as a people. It was thus, and thus directed: 'TO THE KING. *The Principle of the Quakers is the SPIRIT of CHRIST*, Who died for us, and is risen for our justification; by which we know that we are His, and He dwelleth in us by His SPIRIT, and by the SPIRIT of CHRIST we are led out of unrighteousness.' " *

by *Immediate Revelation*. Thirdly, they say this Light *comes from Christ*; but *Christ himself is not in man* in the true seed of Regeneration."

* *Journal*, 1674, p. 422.

“The Light of CHRIST,” says James Naylor, “is the *first Principle* that shows a man his condition, and leads to CHRIST the SAVIOUR, and without it the Gospel is hid from every creature living.” * †

vi. But when the truth was firmly believed by George Fox, by his converts, or by any others whom the Divine SPIRIT was leading along the same paths, that CHRIST is giving a direct and personal Light, that men can hear Him speaking to their hearts and consciences, there is a danger lest they should fancy themselves favorites of His; should introduce this qualification of His Grace, that He speaks only in the hearts and consciences of a few chosen ones; and should proceed to divide the Humankind into those to whom the Divine WORD is speaking, and those to whom He is altogether silent. But George Fox was listening to Him with a pure and single heart. Every page of his early history, the revelations of his strenuous inward fight, the oppositions of the Sects, the successes of his ministry, all show us that he was being led to the conviction that he most truly followed the Divine Light when he attested it to be the common fountain of Grace in every man, the witness of GOD in every man,—when he felt that it was not GOD’s mark of favoritism and se-

* *Second Answer to Thomas Moore.* Proposition I. 4to. 1665.

† “Their testimony was to the *Principle of God in Man*, the precious pearl and leaven of the Kingdom, as the only blessed means appointed of God to quicken, convince and sanctify Man. So they opened to them what It was in Itself, and what It was given to them for.”—William Penn’s *Preface to George Fox’s Journal.* 1694.

paration upon him, but His universal gift to mankind. "The LORD opened to me by His invisible power," says he, "how every man was enlightened by the Divine Light of CHRIST." "Wicked men," he says, "were enlightened by this Light—how else could they hate it?" The Light is neither conditioned by time, place, religion, occupation, moral character, age, nor sex; it has no opposition except sin and self-willed darkness. The Old Testament shows that the history of mankind before CHRIST came in the Flesh is a history of the strife of the Light with men; with those who obeyed the Light, like Moses and David; and those who resisted the Light, like Pharaoh. George Fox wrote two Epistles to the Jews of his own day, appealing to the Light of the Messiah within them. He wrote also to the Pope, to the Emperor, the Kings of France and Spain, to Oliver Cromwell, to Charles the Second, to all Bishops and Priests in Christendom; to merchants, to judges, to masters of ships and seamen, to all the several Sects; in every letter he speaks to the Divine Witness in them; he feels that there is a Pure Light, a Holy Will, within one and all, shining upon and striving with their hearts and consciences, and waiting to save them, if they will obey and follow Him.

vii. Whatever other doctrines the Quakers may have accepted, whether from George Fox, from the loose, airy, notional teachers of their time, or from their own experiences, or whatever doctrines they may have deduced from these primary ones—this belief, first, in the *Light of CHRIST within*, and secondly, in the *Universality of His Light*, separated and distinguished them by impassable marks

from all other Sects. It would be better, perhaps, to see this in their own words than in mine. "There be *two main or principal things* held forth by us, which are as it were *the two hinges or fundamental principles upon which all other things relating to doctrine or practice affirmed by us do hang and depend*. The first is, that there is no saving knowledge of GOD or the things of His Kingdom attainable but by the Immediate Revelation of JESUS CHRIST, Who is the Image, Word, and Light, of the Invisible GOD, in which alone He can be manifest unto the salvation of men. The second is that this Image, Word, or Light, which is JESUS CHRIST the SON of the FATHER's love, doth shine forth in some measure universally, and enlightens every man that comes into the world, and thereby giveth him a day of visitation whereby it is possible for him to be saved."*

viii. These were the two principal messages which the primitive Quakers felt themselves called out to announce to all mankind. They went forth with a full confidence that they needed no other weapons for the conquest of their own souls or of the world to the Kingdom of CHRIST. Every hour bore a witness in their own souls to the truth of these doctrines. Each blind, cold, idle, or wicked thought or volition in which they had ever indulged, they could trace to a disbelief that the Light was striving with them, or to a disbelief that He was striving with others also. All the Bible, too, seemed to second their deductions; and the lives of the saints showed that the be-

* Benjamin Furly and George Keith. *Universal Free Grace of the Gospel, &c. Ut supra.*

lief in an ever-present, assisting, restraining SPIRIT was at the root of all their holy acts. CHRIST was speaking to them at the very spring and centre of their being. The way in which St. Paul describes the beginning of his new life is, "It pleased GOD to reveal His SON in me." But a *revelation* is not a putting-in, an introduction of something new. It is a *taking away* of all veils and hiding media from that which is *already there*. CHRIST was in Saul, Saul was kicking against the *κέντρα* of the Light, before the FATHER revealed him there.*

ix. Their faith in the first truth, the Light Within, when they compared it with the dogmas and exercises through which they had endeavored to get nearer to GOD, filled them with an awful and joyous sense of the Divine Presence. They had neither to rush to steeple-houses, to the popular preachers, to the Bible, nor to exercises, for their GOD. All the time they were striving and straining to reach Him, He was near to them: He, the Divine WORD, was discerning all the thoughts and intents of their hearts; all their being lay open and manifest in His sight. So soon as they believed in His Light, He not only showed them present duty, and filled them with present grace, but He threw rays backward on all the rugged and bloody passes of discipline by which He had been leading them: they saw He had been with them even in these hours in which they had felt most alone. Before George Fox "came to the Light," his biography contains passages which might

* Acts ix. 5. *Κέντρα* literally *goads*, or anything with a sharp end. The tragic poets used the expression for resistance against the Divine will. Æschylus, *Prometheus*, 323.

be put into the "experiences" of a hyper-Calvinist, and would not seem out of place. There are all those alternations of bright and dark—of CHRIST's absence and CHRIST's presence—that April-day theory of Christian Life, which seems to make the Presence of GOD dependent upon our consciousness of it; and in which, indeed, is shadowed forth the true and awful thought that the *blessing* of His Presence *does* depend upon our consciousness of it. But after George Fox is "enlightened," these doubts seem never to find one moment's place in his heart. He believes that CHRIST is *always* with him. When the Quakers felt it true that CHRIST their Teacher was with them, and not only teaching them, but also helping them to carry out their lesson, it must have flashed upon them with a new strength that he had done everything, had found everything; and they felt they could cry, "*Not unto us, O LORD,*" with a fervor that no others could.

x. Their faith in the second truth—the universality of the Light Within—filled them with hope for the world. Those sects and churches might despair which believed GOD had rejected, by a fixed decree, great hosts of men and women. But they who believed that His own SON was then and ever knocking at the door of every heart and conscience in the universe, could not give up the worst sinner, the darkest heathen. There was hope for such as long as there was light, mercy, and power in CHRIST. It was the intensity of this faith to which they chiefly owed their wonderful success.

xi. Such effects had the belief of these two doctrines

upon the first Quakers themselves. What witness did they bear to the world, the Sects, and the Church?

They bore to the world the clearest witness of GOD's redeeming grace and forgiveness, which was heard in England during the whole of the seventeenth century: they declared that no man, woman, or child under heaven was left without CHRIST's sufficient Light and Grace. They bore a witness against all the efforts of worn and restless spirits to find rest in outward alterations of the State and Church, in reformations, godly disciplines, parliaments: the SAVIOUR of men comes to them where their disease is—within. They bore also a more self-evident witness of condemnation against the world than any of the Sects were doing, since they attested the Light and Grace of the SAVIOUR in every one, and that no one was left unspoken to by Him. HE would be able to say to each in the judgment, "I shone a Light in your streets, yea, a domestic Light in your very houses, and ye shut your eyes to Me, ye would none of my reproof."

xii. They bore a witness against all those doctrines of the Sects, which hemmed in and conditioned the Grace of GOD, or which substituted the understandings and wills of men for It. Whilst these doctrines seemed to be the most self-turned and introspective of any ever held by Christian men, they bore a true witness against that unhealthy kind of self-turning and introspection from which we saw George Fox escaped the moment he believed in the *abiding* indwelling Light of CHRIST. They witnessed to the unchangeable and faithful nature of GOD, that the LORD was not fickle and repenting. They bore also a clear witness against the loose antinomian dogma of outward

imputation (into which the popular theology was in constant danger of falling), by calling men away from it into a real righteousness, and to the desire of a new life, which CHRIST Himself, the Source of Life, would beget within their very wills (if they would submit to Him), by giving them of His own righteous SPIRIT and Nature. They re-proclaimed, so to speak, the very graciousness of the FATHER'S Grace, as much to the Sects as to the World; for the Puritans so hid the Gospel with qualifications, that their preaching of it appeared sometimes a torment, and sometimes a riddle;”* and the Incarnation and Sacrifice of our Blessed LORD a problem, or an act of wrath. They bore also a witness against the Pelagian and Socinian dogmas, which, by setting up a light of nature and free-will, seemed to make every man his own saviour; for they answered to the witness of all renewed consciences, that every good act and thought in them proceeded from the inspiration of the SPIRIT of CHRIST.†

* Isaac Penington: *Letters*.—“Peter Chalfont, 19th, 6 m. 1665. I received from thee a paper of Richard Baxter's, sent, I believe, in love. And in love am I pressed to return unto thee my sense thereof. It seems to me very useful and weighty, so far as it goes. But, indeed, there is a great defect in it, in not directing sinners to that Principle of Life and Power, wherein and whereby they may do that which he exhorteth them to do. For how can they come to a true sensibility or repentance, or join in covenant with God through CHRIST, until they know and receive somewhat from God whereby it may be done?”

† Robert Barclay: *Apology*, Prop. iv.—“Man, as he is in this state, can know nothing aright; yea, his thoughts and con-

xiii. Lastly, the Quaker assertion of these two doctrines bore a witness against the forgetfulness and formalism of the Church. These doctrines are often expressed, always implied, in all the offices of her Liturgy. Indeed, the very name Catholic and Apostolic; the pretence of being National; the Sacrament of Baptism given to the children of *all* parents, bad or good; the Confirmation Office, and much more, would be like mockeries, if the two leading doctrines of the early Quakers were untrue.

ceptions concerning God and things spiritual, until he be disjoined from this evil seed, and united to the Divine Light, are unprofitable both to himself and others. Hence are rejected the Socinian and Pelagian errors, in exalting a *natural* light." Baskerville, 4to., p. 73. See, too, Isaac Penington: *The Flesh and Blood of Christ both in the Mystery and the Outward*, pp. 41, 42. London, 12mo., 1675.

CHAPTER IV.

THE PRINCIPLE OF THE QUAKER CHURCH.

- i. How far Puritanism believed in the Light of CHRIST Within—Made it dependent upon Consciousness—*Restricted it to the Elect.*
- ii. *Unrestricted by Quakerism*—Objection of Puritans that it destroys Election and the Church, by the plea of Universality.
- iii. Quakers affirm that it affords the *only means* for knowing the Church—Confirms Election.
- iv. Quaker *Idea of the Church*—The Society obeying the Divine Light within them.
- v. The Church a *Baptized Body*—A *Communicating Body*.
- vi. The Church a *Spiritual Society*—An *Inspired Society*—A *Universal Society*—A Society manifesting God's Aspect to the World.
- vii. Essential *Catholicity* of this Idea and these Truths—Their ready adoption by the Christian Conscience—Quakers re-proclaim them.
- viii. Witness borne by the Quaker re-proclamation against the Churchmen, Separatists, and Politicians of the Time—The Catholic Church not a merely National Body.
- ix. Not a Political Body—Not a Hierarchical Body.
- i. Most of the religious sects coexisting with Quaker-

ism at its first appearance, would have readily acknowledged its doctrine of the Inward Light of CHRIST, had it been introduced to them under certain modifications. They would have liked it translated into the kind of theological language to which their ears were accustomed. They would have wished it *restricted* to those under the influence (as they would have said) of a saving faith. Owen, Howe, Goodwin, Bunyan, and the whole school of the Puritans, believed that CHRIST was *within them*, resisting *their* most inward sins. Indeed, the almost invariable subject of the thousands of sermons which they have left us, is the working of CHRIST within the soul of the believer; of the dark moments when He is hidden, the light moments when He is seen; and they are full of exhortations to believe that He, the faithful LORD, is really there, even though this or that black dispensation seems to hide Him. That "the preachers of the world take a text of the saints' conditions, and study what they can raise out of it," is a perpetually recurring topic of anger in the early Quaker tracts. Two parallel tables might be made out, in which the *same facts*, put into Quaker language in one table, into Puritan language in the other, would bear witness that the same LORD was the real Teacher of both, and that both were struggling with a common evil nature. The Quaker Theology, however, (considering the two in their bearings upon men *consciously* Christian), had one great feature distinguishing it from the Puritan. We should never be led to suspect from any Quaker's diary that he fancied the presence of

the Divine Word in his soul depended upon his *thinking He was there*.

ii. We find this distinction confirmed when we come to the Quaker doctrine concerning men not *consciously* Christian. For they tell *every man* that he has CHRIST the Light with him, and that the Seed of Eternal Life is really lying at the very root of his being, under the Seed of Death. They cried out that the Just and Holy GOD had no favorites; that He was not giving His SON to one, keeping Him from another: CHRIST was not only in the holy and Christlike, He was enlightening those who hated Him and were unlike Him. The popular controversialists asserted it against them. They said that such a doctrine made nothing of the Divine Sovereignty. They said that the whole Bible, from the acceptance of Abel to the casting out of Judas, was a history of Election. Is there *no* called fellowship, *no* Elect, *no* Peculium, *no* Body of CHRIST? Does not this doctrine of the Light of CHRIST Within make the division of men into a World and Church impossible?

iii. The Quakers had an answer ready. No, they would say; the doctrine of the Light Within gives us the surest method for separating the Church from the World. It is a great matter to have CHRIST'S Light within us, to be possessors of His striving grace. But it is not the whole matter. He is in us to renew us; He is in us as the Seed of a New Birth to grow up into the Tree of a New Life. He is in us to remould and restore our hearts and lives to that original likeness to Him from which they have fallen. Some hearts obey His efforts; in the Apostle's words they

become "fellow-workers" with that God Who is working in them to will and to do.* He is in these to salvation; He treads under one by one all their sins. But others shut the eye of their souls to the Divine Light; they resist His loving strife. The Light is in these to condemnation: they "love darkness rather than Light, because their deeds are evil."†

The primitive Quakers would also say: 'Nor does our Principle destroy the doctrine of Election; it confirms it; it settles it upon an immovable basis.' George Fox was constantly preaching that that which God elected was really good, that which he reprobated really wicked; and that His righteous Reason and Will, and not a cold, reasonless *decree*, was at the root of election and reprobation.‡

iv. The Quakers, then, would realize the Church as that body of men and women who consciously obeyed the Light. They would realize the World as that whole body of men and women who were consciously resisting the Light, who were choosing Darkness. CHRIST was in the obedient with a depth and fulness which the disobedient could never approach unto, nor dream of; which neither secular learning, nor Bible knowledge could give

* Philip. ii. 13.

† St. John iii. 19.

‡ "I opened to him (Justice Robinson) the parables, and how Election and Reprobation stood; as that Reprobation stood in the *first birth*, and Election stood in the *second birth*." — *Journal*, p. 62, 1651. Also his reasoning with the Particular Baptists, pp. 173, 330--31, 1665; and in many other places, ed. 1694.

them. HE had so come to them, they had so received Him, that HE had taken up His abode in them, and dwelt in them, and they dwelt in Him; His SPIRIT moved their spirits, and all their acts were His. Hence they always spoke of the Church (that is, of Quakerism) as a divinely inspired body, and as an infallible body.

v. The Apostles had spoken of the Church as a body bound together by the seal of Baptism. The Quakers said that the witness of the Apostles was true, for CHRIST had admitted *them* into His Church by baptizing them with His SPIRIT and with fire. The Apostles had spoken of the Church as a society of men and women communicating in the Body and Blood of the LORD JESUS. The Quakers said that they eat and drank of the Spiritual Life of JESUS, in their spirits. Our LORD had declared it to be the first duty of His Church to make disciples of all nations. The primitive Quakers went up and down England, Scotland, Ireland, Holland, Germany, the American Colonies, calling on men to obey CHRIST'S Light within them, and to enter into the Body bound together by the Baptism of His SPIRIT.

vi. These, then, were the leading doctrines involved in the primitive Quaker *Idea* of the Church: first, the Church is a *Spiritual Body*, the Kingdom of God is a Kingdom of Spirits: secondly, the Church is a *Catholic Body*; it is a kingdom over spirit as such, implicitly a kingdom over *all* spirits; a society built up not out of national existence, nor out of the Bible, nor out of doctrine, but out of the very nature of men themselves as spirits: thirdly, the Church is an *Inspired Body*, a king-

dom whose laws and privileges touch the heart and will—a society of men and women moved to live a holy life, and to do mighty works, by the indwelling of the HOLY GHOST: and lastly, the Church is the living manifestation of Him to the world.

vii. Before I speak of the witness borne by these doctrines against the Church and the Sects during the Protectorate and the Restoration, I will make a few remarks which may throw light on their ready acceptance by the *Christian conscience*. In the first place, they are the very same doctrines which, expressed in diverse forms, perhaps, have been held by almost all Christian men in all ages, and held with especial clearness and force by those otherwise un-Quakerly men, the Catholic Fathers. Again, it was the forgetfulness of these doctrines by the Church and the Sects, or the substitution of glosses and explanations for them, or the displacing of them from their central position, which gave cause for the re-proclamation of them by Quakerism, and afforded spiritual men and women show of excuse for entering the Quaker body. Furthermore, it was in the proclamation of these primary truths, and not in the peculiar, liminary, and Puritan deductions which the Quakers modelled out of these truths, or the narrow Society which they built upon them, that the real strength of Quakerism consisted. It was these which bore the witness to the universal consciences of men that Fox and Naylor, Burroughs and Howgill, were preaching to them a Principle which they felt they needed and ought to possess, and which had often occurred to their own hearts during the wreck and tempests of the

Church and State. It was by not acknowledging these truths as true, and by not asserting or proving that the Church, or Presbyterianism, or Independency, or the Fifth Monarchy, was the true and legitimate deduction from, or answer to, these truths, that Churchmen, Presbyterians, Independents, and the rest, fell before the attacks of the Quakers in every part of England.

viii. These truths bore a witness against the notions of the Churchmen, the Puritans, and the Politicians of the time, that the Church was a mere national body, to be oppressed or helped by Kings or Parliaments, to be disfigured or reformed by abolition or restoration of the Catholic orders or the Presbyterian ministry. Presbyterians, Baptists, Independents, all the new Sects, and the Politicians, were striving to make a new Church of England. George Fox came into the midst of their confusions with this *Catholic* message: CHRIST has not formed His Kingdom on the nature of Englishmen, but *of men*: the *re*-formation of His Kingdom, the second building up of His universal Temple, cannot begin in a Parliament House; it must begin in the court of Conscience.

ix. These truths bore a witness against the notion that the hierarchy, or ministers, are the organs of the HOLY GHOST in the Church, against the real or implicit division of the Body of CHRIST into the Church and the Faithful.*

* Saint Cyprian, whom certainly no one would accuse of undervaluing the *Priestly Office* or Episcopal Order, insists often on the *Priestly character* of every Christian. He declares he will do nothing without the Laity; that it has been his

The whole Body is the Church, the whole Body is the Faithful, the whole Body is the organ of the HOLY GHOST; every man in it is inspired by Him, by virtue of his personal human union to the Divine WORD—by virtue of the Incarnation of the WORD of GOD in all flesh—by virtue of his Baptism. The ministry is set apart to teach the ignorant and convert the heathen, to build up the Saints, to direct consciences, to declare GOD'S absolution, to offer the Christian Sacrifice. But the whole Body has the Inspiring SPIRIT of Grace to labor for the purification and extension of the Church. Aptitude of learning proceeds from the SPIRIT as much as aptitude of teaching. It is the same Grace in another condition.* To every baptized Corinthian, St. Paul says: "Your body is the temple of the HOLY GHOST, who dwelleth in you."†

principle from the beginning: "A primordio Episcopatus mei statuerim nihil sine consilio vestro, et sine consensu plebis, mea privatim sententia gerere. Sed cum ad vos per DEI gratiam venero, tunc de iis quæ vel gesta sunt vel gerenda, sicut honor mutuus poscit in commune tractabimus."—Editio D. A. B. Caillau, ep. v. p. 33. Parisiis, 1842. Oxford Translation, ep. xiv. p. 37.

* Saint Cyprian exhorts all the laity to use that gift of teaching which they have toward individuals.—Ed. Caillau, ep. xi. pp. 53-55. Ed. Oxf. ep. xvii. pp. 43, 44.

† 1 Corinthians vi. 19.

CHAPTER V.

THE REFLECTION OF THE QUAKER IDEA IN MODERN QUAKERISM.

- i. Loss of Principles by Decay and by Modification.
- ii. The Revival of a Sect in Religion not necessarily a *Revival of the Principle* of the Sect—Quakers and the Evangelical Revival.
- iii. Are the *Catholic Principles* of Quakers revived?—Are the *Quaker Enthusiasms*?
- iv. Both doubted or contradicted by Modern Quakerism.
- v. Doubt and Contradiction agents of Decay.
- vi. Witness of Ancient and Modern Quakers.
- vii. Witness of Ancient Quakers against *every Appearance of Evil*—Against the *Evil Principle*.
- viii. Witness of Modern Quakers against *certain real and supposed Evils*—Its Traditionalism and Externality.
- ix. *Accidental Likeness, Essential Dissimilarity* of the Ancient and Modern Witness.
- x. Ancient Quakers witnessed to the *Presence of the Divine Word in Men*.
- xi. Modern Quakers witness to certain *Duties*—Philanthropists and “Lovers of Men.”
- xii. The Ancient Quaker Witness does not necessarily involve Quakerism.
- xiii. Quakerism hinders and contradicts that Witness—Transition to the Second Book.

i. THE principles of which I have spoken as the Divine

Root of Quakerism (an outward realization of which it was the aim of the Quaker theology to express, and of the Quaker Church to spread) have been displaced, modified, explained away, contradicted by many generations of Quakers. Much was lost in the scholastic or formal epoch of the Society; much more in the general religious declension of the eighteenth century.

ii. The revival of a Sect, so far as it means the reproduction of *that life which has decayed*, and not the revival of religious feeling in the Sect, is a very rare event. When it does occur, it leaves the Sect quite another thing than it originally contemplated. In the eighteenth century, Quakerism passed, with the other Sects, and with the Church, through a period of religious darkness, and suffered from the epidemic of scepticism and empty laxity. With the other religious bodies, Quakerism underwent a revival. But this was a revival of its religion, not of its Quakerism. It reappeared as a mild Arminian-Evangelical system; its members differing from the members of other such systems chiefly in having no rites, no paid ministers, in not taking oaths, in not entering the army, in not following the changes of fashion, and a few other external peculiarities. It is *since* the Evangelical Revival that the *decay* of Quakerism has more determinedly set in. A time of general distrust of the grounds of all religion is not necessarily a time of the decay of Sects. When men scarcely believe anything, they do not think it worth their while to disturb their daily wont of life; and they go easily and contentedly where their fathers took them.

iii. When we hold up the *Mirror* of Modern Quakerism to the *Idea* of Ancient Quakerism (as I have spoken of that Idea in the prior chapters), two questions occur in relation to the *two Catholic Principles*. First, Do modern Quakers believe in the Saving Light of CHRIST in every man? Secondly, Do modern Quakers believe that the only Catholic Church must be a Universal Society of Spirits, bound together by the indwelling of the Common Spirit of CHRIST, into which men are admitted by the Baptism of CHRIST, and which exerts itself in the reduction of all men to that Baptism?

Two questions also arise respecting those *two Quaker Enthusiasms* which the Primitive Friends confounded with, and substituted for, the Catholic Truths. First, Do modern Quakers believe that every man or woman who consciously submits to the Light of the LORD in their spirits, must, by the irresistible power of that LORD, be drawn into communion and fellowship with "the people of God, called Quakers"? Secondly, Do modern Quakers believe that the Society of Friends is the One Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church, and that every other religious body in the world is a section of the predicted Apostacy?

iv. If the word "modern" were left out of these four queries, and they had been put to any primitive Quaker, he would have answered them all in the affirmative. All modern Quakers, and all persons conversant with modern Quaker opinion, would answer them in the negative. Or, if they said 'Yes' to them, they would affix some qualification which would render them *virtually* negative; such as, 'We believe in these as the Society believes;' that is,

in some interpretation of the ancient words, more destructive to the two Catholic truths and the two Quaker opinions, than absolute denial of them would be.

v. If I could answer 'Yes' to all or any of these questions, I should doubt both the clear statements of statisticians, and the self-deploring Jeremiads in which Quakers have lamented the decay of Quakerism. I should think a restoration possible, for a while longer. As I believe that all these questions must be answered in the negative, so I believe that the restoration of Quakerism is impossible. For, since undoubting faith in these two Catholic Principles and these two Quaker Persuasions was the condition of Quaker vigor and success; so the disbelief, half-belief, or doubt of these, is the sure condition of Quaker decay; as I hope to make more manifest in the further development of this subject.

vi. I have spoken, in the prior chapters, of the *witness* which was borne by primitive Quakerism against the existing Church, Sects, and World. Of course, from the exclusive standpoint of the Quaker Church, these were only regarded as three different forms which the common spirit of the World chose to assume for worldly purposes. Though a Quaker of the seventeenth century and one of the nineteenth would not be able to agree in their *extension and restriction* of the term *World*, they would agree in this, that Quakers were called out from the World to bear a witness against it and for it. But question them as to *what this witness is*, and we shall have opposite answers. There is an absolute distinction of principle between the witness of ancient and modern Quakerism.

vii. If we could call up a Quaker of the earlier period, and question him what the witness of his Society really was (and in the Quaker books we may call many up, and so question them), he would answer (as they answer), 'We are witnesses to this: GOD *has come to teach His People Himself*; CHRIST *has given to the Humankind His Light and Spirit*, and is reproving them of righteousness, of judgment, and of sin.' This was the *positive* form of their witness. Its *negative* and antagonist phase, therefore, was *not against mere evils*, but against the very source and spring of evils—against the dark principle of perpetual forgetfulness of the presence of GOD—against the unruly principle of perpetual resistance to His stirring Light and Word—*against the very sinfulness of Sin*.

viii. Ask a modern Quaker what is the witness which has been committed to his Society, and he will answer (the books, letters, memoirs, advices of modern Friends supply the answer), 'We are witnesses *for the Spirituality of the Kingdom of CHRIST*; we are an example of the Christian Church in its simplicity!' Press him closely for a definition of Spirituality and of Simplicity, and we shall be answered by a set of negatives: 'We have no forms, we do not pay our ministers, we count no buildings sacred;' and so on. If further pushed, and reminded that Spirituality cannot consist in these negatives, he will answer, perhaps, that they are the fences of Spirituality.

ix. The *essential difference* between early and later Quaker witness is less apparent at first glance, from its *accidental likeness*. The modern Quakers might say, 'Our fathers (whom *you* believe to have witnessed to

something positive) had bald forms of worship; they scrupulously anathematized set prayers, the payment of ministers, the sanctifying of buildings, and so on; therefore, we are keeping in continuity their witness.' But it is very plain from the rousing language of Fox, Burroughs, and the rest, that *their* hypothesis for rejecting forms stood upon quite an opposite ground to that of their disciples. 'GOD,' they would say, 'is the true Teacher of His People; HE is the SPIRIT Who animates and creates true forms, where, when, or as, forms are wanted: how can we want set forms, when we have the Form-Creator and Form-Inspirer in the midst of us; if they were not insulting, they would be unnecessary?' Again, they might say, 'Our Teacher gives His precious Wisdom without money and without price; our ministers are but the instruments and organs through which His WORD passes; how could we dare to pay them, or they to receive, money for what is not theirs, but the HOLY GHOST's?' Thus, the old Quakers *began*, not at the forms, but at the *Universal Presence of the Divine Teacher*.

Modern Quakers, on the contrary, *begin at the forms*. 'Forms,' they say, 'are the *mere organs* of the Divine SPIRIT. They are dead and empty in themselves. We may have what seem to be the noblest and most venerable forms, and yet not have His Divine Presence. We do not want dead and empty things; we want the living, life-creating SPIRIT. All Sects but ourselves, more or less, substitute forms *for* the SPIRIT; or, at best, seek the SPIRIT *through* forms—through the Bible, hymns, and *prepared* sermons. We put away all forms, therefore we

cannot make this substitution.' Thus the modern witness is a witness *against formality*, or for *spirituality*, not a witness to the *Presence of a Divine Lord and Teacher*. "No Forms" is but formal, after all; and the poor Irishman, going in for a few minutes to kneel in silence before the Altar whereupon he believes the **VERY FLESH** is lying, Which was beaten in Pilate's Judgment-hall, and pierced upon Calvary, may be intensely more spiritual than all the Quakers in the barest (most spiritual) meeting-house that ever was built; nay, he may be more firmly bound, in the unity of the **SPIRIT**, with George Fox and Isaac Penington, than the people who wear the same kind of clothes, and use "thee" and "thou" by imitation.

x. Yet this is not the only testimony upon which modern Quakers claim honor. They have borne the greatest witness for *Philanthropy* as a necessary element of the Christian character. Their witness against War, Slavery, Drunkenness, and other Evils, as enemies of mankind, has been (considering their fewness in number, and absorbing commercial habits) the most extraordinary and persistent made by any body of Christians. They have had a bright name as Philanthropists, ever since that fine name and new profession appeared in England. In the eyes of half our countrymen of the present day the first characteristic suggested by the name Quaker, is, *Philanthropist*—a good-hearted, placid rich man, whose profession is to do good; just as two hundred years ago the invariable characteristic would have been *Enthusiast*—a wild, oddly-clad man, whose profession was to travel about, opposing, contradicting, witnessing, in the most extravagant methods.

xi. As *Philanthropoi*, lovers of men, they are in a direct continuity and succession to George Fox and the first Quakers. The development or *change* is the same also. The unbending faith of Fox, and his fellows, that the Spirit of CHRIST, their own LORD, the Beloved of their own souls, was in some sense inhabiting *every man's* conscience, gave them an awful sympathy with all states and conditions of men, a mighty hatred to all Man's enemies. It was because they saw that the Seed of CHRIST in men was crushed and insulted by War, Slavery, or Drunkenness, that these were witnessed against by *them*. For, what is War? A man resisting the uniting Spirit of CHRIST in himself, the pleading image of CHRIST in another, and rushing to murder by the inspiration of the unchristly spirit of Wrath. What is Slavery? Making a chattel, a thing, of one in whom the free Spirit and Light of CHRIST is speaking and shining. What is Drunkenness? A man drowning the Seed of CHRIST in him under gross and beastly self-indulgence, resisting the will of the Spirit, submitting to the animal will. Thus the old Quaker philanthropy, as a witness against these evils, beginning at the perpetual remembrance of the presence of the Divine Light within, was a protest against the very *root and principle of these evils*, against the *sin and atheism of them*, against the forgetfulness of and unbelief in that Light.

But the modern Quaker witness is made against the *evils themselves*. The Quakers have a kind of hereditary duty to perform, a set of works left them to continue, the *calling* of philanthropists to take up. It is good for

mankind that it is so—in the lack of better things. But *how* do they do it? By Peace Societies, Abolition Societies, Temperance Societies. George Fox and his fellows would have marched forth and preached to the faces and to the hearts of soldiers, of slaveowners, and drunkards. They would have said, ‘Thus saith the LORD, This word do I send to your consciences by the mouth of My servants, Thou shalt not hate thy brother; Thou shalt not make thy brother *a thing*; Thou shalt not bring thyself down to the place of a brute. Thou knowest the Light WHO is in thee showeth thee this; thou knowest there is That Which is calling upon thee to sacrifice thyself, to crucify that inward rebellious will of thine which would make thee a murderer, an oppressor, a drunkard.’

xii. I believe this witness is true. But it is a message which no more involves Manchester Peace doctrine, or Teetotalism, than that prior witness of the Presence of the SPIRIT Who is above all forms and ceremonies, involves the rejection of the Sacraments and Orders of the Catholic Church. Yea, and as we saw before, the *essence* of this witness, the unselfish sacrifice of the will, *may* be accomplished by a soldier, on a battle-field, in a truer sense than by the eloquent speaker for the Peace Society, on a platform; even by a paternal slaveholder (for such there are, difficult and rare to find, perhaps,) more truly than by a violent party abolitionist; by a sober user of wine, than by an intemperate and bigoted abstainer. Leaving out such possibilities, what a different witness it is to that of speakers and writers for No-war, Abolition, and Teetotalism; to those platform, bazaar, and fancy-fair

methods, by which ladies and gentlemen are attempting to help forward the Kingdom of God.

xiii. Not only does the primitive Quaker *witness* (*the Truth* which George Fox and his fellows perceived) not involve Quakerism (*the Schism*, the Institution, which they made to contain and manifest that witness); but, on the contrary, the Quaker-IsM hampers and contradicts that witness. I shall endeavor to throw further light upon this, in the next book, where I propose to examine the factors and the elements of that Schism or Institution.

BOOK II.

THE QUAKER SCHISM; OR, FORMAL QUAKERISM.

CHAPTER I.

THE DIVINE ELEMENT, OR CONTRIBUTION, IN QUAKERISM.

- i. Introductory.
- ii. The three Factors : The HOLY SPIRIT, the Human Founder, the Age—These Three give Elements to Quakerism.
- iii. The Divine Element subject of this Chapter—How the Head of a Universal Body gives His SPIRIT to a detached Schism ; to Quakerism—A Sect in success.
- iv. A Schism may decay, *although* it has a Divine Principle of Life—A Sect in decline.
- v. A Schism may decay because it has only one, two, or more, *not all* the Divine Elements of a Catholic Body.
- vi. History of Quakerism—Music divinely appointed—Effect of Quaker prohibition of Music.
- vii. A Schism may decay by its Principle of Life returning to its Catholic Centre.

i. DOES the original form or completed body of Quakerism throw any light on the causes of Quaker decay? This is the question which I shall attempt to answer in the Second Book

The way to the answer lies, I think, through another question:—Who were the primary makers or causers of Quakerism? What were the leading and distinctive elements or contributions in the formal finished Sect, the completed Institution?

ii. I believe they were these three:—First, the Divine Sower gave them, as the Seed of His WORD and SPIRIT, that temporarily forgotten or depressed principle of which I have spoken in the First Book. Secondly, the early proclaimers of this principle, especially George Fox, raised up a Christian movement and institution upon it, of which their consciences, their opinions, their wisdom, their ignorance, their temperaments, their sufferings, were the builders. Thirdly, the spirit of the Age, acting upon George Fox and his fellows, and upon their work, stamped it with its own *secular* characteristics, marked it with the peculiarities of the seventeenth century.

iii. The history of a Sect during its success, is the record of its proclamation of some Catholic principle which the Catholic Church is leaving unspoken, undeclared. For, as surely as, by the Incarnation, the Blessed WORD and SON of the FATHER took upon Him the nature of every man, so surely is man's soul Catholic by its very nature, and thirsts after a Catholic food; which food, by some method or another, GOD is sure to supply.

This doctrine is no private judgment, but the clear and legitimate deduction from the conduct of our LORD Himself, when He was called upon by the very Princes of the Church, to give verdict in a case of schism. "And John answered him, saying, Master, we saw one casting out

devils in Thy Name, and he followeth not us : and we forbade him, because he followeth not us. But JESUS said, Forbid him not : for there is no man which shall do a miracle in My Name, that can lightly speak evil of Me. For he that is not against us is on our part.”* Our LORD does *not* here say, ‘ Since he does My will, since he witnesses to My rule over evil spirits, and to My work of freeing human spirits, since he *really* casts out devils, *he is as much an apostle as any one of you* ; perhaps more so, since, when I was on the Mount of Transfiguration, and you were prayed to cast out devils, you could not cast them out.’ This is *not* what our LORD said ; this is what the Founders of Sects say. But He goes to the broad ground of self-sacrifice. They had just been quarrelling about dignity and degree ; He had set a child in the midst of them. He goes on to show that to do things in *His* name, not in *their own*, is the secret of power, the spring and source of all Divine work. When they, the Church which He has called, and which He owns, think little of themselves, they will find His strength in them. Meantime GOD *must*, GOD *will*, have His work done. If the Universal Society which His SON began, which He guided, and to which He taught the inward sense of all things, does not advance His truth and work, some other Society will, and will do it with the sanction and Name of GOD. But this affords no excuse for Sect-making, for separating from the Church ; since, even when our LORD was openly in the midst of them, a man was found who *could* cast out devils, while the Apostolic College *could*

* St. Mark ix. 38-40.

not. Yet our LORD neither ordained him an Apostle, nor cast off the Twelve as apostates. So, too, this act of our LORD forbids the Church to anathematize or restrain any man who is speaking His truth or doing His will, though not in outward union with herself. If the Church had always translated this principle into practice, how many Sects had been cut short in their beginning, how many had been unnecessary! It is as unchurchly as it is weak and mischievous, to take the Papist ground when arguing with sectarians, to tell them that they are *wholly* wrong, and we *wholly* right. If the Church had not lost faith, had not sinned, there would be no Sects. One who was a very noble asserter of the authority of the Church, says: "He that can look upon the mischiefs either of civil war in the world, or schism in the Church, with the heart of a Christian, will not think strange that both should be schismatics to GOD, though only one part can be schismatics to the Church."*

iv. The history of Sects in their decline, is the record of continual approximation from points of difference to points of likeness with the Catholic Church. At every step, some *individualist* (that is, some Foxite, Wesleyan, Ignatian, Lutheran, Calvinist) element is dropped; some *universal, human, spiritual* element is taken up. All the while, these Sects feel themselves in the way of progress, and say they are so. And so they are, in so far as one Baptism as the process, one Body as the goal, are to

* Herbert Thorndike, *Just Weights and Measures*, ch. ii. s. 6, [Works, p. 87, vol. v. Oxford ed. 1854.] A Treatise written during the most flourishing period of Quakerism's life.

be added to the common starting-point—one LORD. But in regard to themselves, as Sects, they are not in progress. Every step forward is a step into self-destruction. No age hitherto has been so full of the *signs* of this approximation as our own; the very outside of our places of worship preaches it to men in the street; the growing discovery that the HOLY GHOST did not forsake the world from the death of St. Augustine to the birth of Wycliffe, preaches it to men in the study. The disseverance of a Sect is a witness that GOD *will judge* the Church, that her LORD is a Righteous King. The decline of Sects is a witness that He *will vindicate* her as the only Catholic witness to Himself; that is, as the only power in the world which can speak to *every time*, in *every place*, to *every man*, to *every business*.

v. There is also only one condition upon which even a true principle, a seed of GOD, can maintain perpetual life. It must live in union with all the other principles of the Nature and Kingdom of GOD; it must not be severed from them; it must not come into any contact of opposition with them.

Now the history of Quakerism is a continual record of such oppositions, and of the fierce, self-destructive battles which have resulted from them. I might instance this by the slight, doubting, wavering manner in which the early Quakers viewed that principle which might be called *the Gospel*, I mean the awful fact of the Incarnation. But as I shall have to speak of this afterwards, I will use a more ordinary illustration now.

vi. Music is a science founded, just as much as theology

is, on the principles of the Divine Nature and order. It is regulated by divinely arranged laws, of which Discord is the violation; to the truth of which all musical and musically cultivated souls are witnesses. The need of music is sown deeply in the souls of men by GOD their Maker. When men are seeking, hearing, playing—above all, discovering or composing—true music, they are obeying a law which they were not meant to resist. The Quakers have put a prohibition of music upon their books. This prohibition stands upon no mean or meagre ground. Some of the early Quakers, the most Quakerly of them, pronounced all music unlawful; others pronounced good music inconvenient, for the sake of its associations with hunting, drinking, play-acting, love, war; and bad music is unlawful for its own sake. They had a good reason to give for it; they could trace it up, in their own way, to the very principle which they had received from CHRIST their Light. Here, then, are two principles, both from the Divine Centre, in contest and opposition. If the Society of Friends were the Catholic Kingdom of God, both could find their truest centre and harmony therein; Quaker music would be the grandest that was ever composed. But since both cannot exist together under Quaker conditions, Quakerism cannot be the *Universal Kingdom* for men, for it must exclude *musical men*: it cannot be a kingdom for all places and times, for it cannot bless and sanctify the *concert-room* or the *singing party*. The same contest may be seen in the Drama and in the Arts. The prohibitions of the Quaker discipline (as I shall try to show when I come to that head), are the sen-

tences of death which Quakerism records against itself—are witnesses that the Divine Principle is given it *with restrictions*, as to places, as to times, as to men, as to pursuits.

vii. Lastly. A Sect may decay because its principle again finds a home in its true centre ; because its witness is taken from it by the Catholic Church returning to her duty. When the Truth and the Life are received again into the City which drove them forth, men will resort no more to those caves where they once hid. Before George Fox was born, the two principles which he made the basis of a *phantasmal and expected* Catholic Church, were the principles of *the really existing* Catholic Church.

CHAPTER II.

THE FOXITE CONTRIBUTION.

- i. The Founders of Schisms—*George Fox as Founder of Quakerism.*
- ii. In what sense he was *not* the Founder—*The other Founders.*
- iii. The Movement began in *Fox's soul*—*Josiah Martin to Voltaire.*
- iv. Quaker objections—*The Divine Word the Founder.*
- v. Quakerism is *Foxism*—*Fox built himself into it.*
- vi. *Fox's Proclamation of the Light Within* drew out the *unexpressed Quakerism* of the Age.
- vii. His private Experience the productive Cause of this Proclamation.
- viii. *Tenets of Quakerism, the Deductions of George Fox.*
- ix. *Symbols of Quakerism—George Fox's Methods* of distinguishing the Church from the World.
- x. Proved inefficacy of his Methods—*George Fox unfitted for the Reformer of a Universal Society.*
- xi. Only an Omniscient Man fitted, the Incarnate WORD—*George Fox's Method the contrary to His.*
- xii. Decay of Quakerism, as *Foxism*, inevitable from the most universal evidence within our reach.

i. I HAVE said that the first element in the constitution of a Schism usually consists in some Divine principle per-

ceived by its founders, some truth of GOD which men are needing and feeling after at that time, and which the merciful FATHER is sure to reveal. *The second element is that contributed by the Founder or Founders.* And the Founder is not that man who first discerned that principle or truth upon which the formal building is raised, but he who effected the most toward raising and forming the building. It is so in the Physical Kingdom; they who first discern the new truth are not accounted the discoverers, but they who substantiate, settle, and hand it over to mankind as an available possession for ever. All those great epochs marked by the characteristics of certain strong spirits, were prepared for the reception and arrival of those spirits, by men of clear discernment, perhaps of untiring labor, but held back, thwarted, misunderstood; testifying in an undertone, because "the time was not yet come." In the specific instance of Quakerism, this general law holds good. The master-spirit and chief builder of Quakerism was, undoubtedly, George Fox. But there had been Quakers before him.

ii. The Society of Friends, from the very first, have shrunk back from calling George Fox their founder. Their usual designation of him is, "our honorable elder;" and they speak of him only as one among many. In a sense, they are justified in doing so; for James Naylor, William Dewsbury, Richard Farnsworth, Francis Howgill, Edward Burroughs, and a few others, labored quite as hard in the first onslaught of the Quaker theory upon the Church, World, and Sects; and conducted nearly as

much to the multitudinous conversions of the præ-formal period of Quakerism.

iii. Yet, even confining ourselves to the mere origination of the new movement, this truth faces us in a most plain, open, inescapable manner, that it was a movement which began in the soul of George Fox. When we come to the second period, to the modelling of the Quaker constitution and discipline, to the Society of Friends, to Quakerism *as an Ism*, the hand of George Fox is still more evident. His fellows in the period of success and conquest were all either dead; or in some hyper-Quaker Schism, as Perrot and Pennyman; or, with himself, were milder, less expectant, more orderly men. Both his own *Journal* and Sewell's *History* connect Quakerism with him, as intimately as Arianism can be connected with Arius, Lutheranism with Luther, Wesleyanism with Wesley, or any of the Gnostic Sects with the personal names they are distinguished by. "He not only," says Josiah Martin to Voltaire, "converted thousands to his sentiments and opinions, but was also the author of the scheme or plan of discipline by which the Quakers regulate their Society, and which he himself saw established in England, Scotland, Ireland, Holland, and America: a plan, though simple in its nature, yet very extensive in its service, yea, so extensive as to be capable of taking in even the whole world; and if strictly followed by all, *according to the spirit and intent of its author*, would, to use thy own words, 'bring down upon earth the so-much boasted golden age.'"*

* *Letter from one of the People called Quakers to F. de Voltaire*

iv. The early Quakers avoided thus nicknaming their Society and opinions, not only because George Fox himself would have hated it above every thing, but also because it could never have represented to themselves or the world, in the least degree, what they believed that Society and those opinions really involved. Indeed, the name *Foxism* would have presented the very opposite. For it was the faith of Fox and his fellows that their Society was the one only Holy and Elect Church, called out of the long Apostasy of Ages ; holding *no opinions*, following *no man* ; but grounded upon, and bound together by, the Divine Principle of the Life and Light of CHRIST dwelling and working in every member. No one, I think, could read George Fox's *Journal*, or any of his tracts, without concluding, that if he suspected any thing he held to be *an opinion*, he would have thrown it away at once, as far from him as possible.

v. Nevertheless, we, in the placid calm and quietness of historical distance, losing sight of small distinctions, perceive that Quakerism is, essentially, *Foxism*. It may be, I think it is, the growth of some living Truth, which *grows* quite independently of him : it may be, I think it is, the germination from a Divine Seed. But still, if I may say so, *Fox is the gardener*. It is he who fixes it to this or that wall ; he who moves the trellis for it, first here, then there ; it is he who allows it to develop freely

[London, 8vo., 1742, p. 41.] He, William Penn says, was "the Instrumental Author: He that in this age was sent to begin this Work and People."—*Preface to George Fox's Journal*. [Fol. Lond. 1694.]

toward the south or east, but clips every branch or spray that aims westward; it is he who makes such fanciful frames and espalier rails for the young and tender tendrils to enfold and cover. Albeit, during all his trainings, clippings, waterings of that which he believed to be God's Tree of Life, it must be remembered that he did all in the belief that he was receiving perceptible and immediate suggestions and commands from the LORD. Each twig which was clipped, or suffered to grow; each nail which was driven in, was clipped, suffered, driven in, as he believed, in obedience to the direct command of the Light of CHRIST.

I shall now give some examples to show that Quakerism really is Foxism,—that Fox built up himself, his temperament, his experiences, his fancies, his knowledge, his ignorance, into that outward body of doctrine, constitution, and discipline, by which the *successive fact* Quakerism continues in the world.

vi. First, it is most probable that this body would never have existed as a separate formal institution, had it not been for George Fox. The great mass of Seekers in all parts of England, who were, so to speak, the raw material which was afterwards built up into Quakerism,*

* Wm. Sewell, *History of the Rise, Increase, and Progress of the Christian People called Quakers*, [fol. Lond. 1722, p. 6.] And even the worse sect of the *Ranters* were purified, in many places, into Quakers. See also William Penn's *Preface to Fox's Journal*. Further, John Crook's *Epistle to all that profess the Light of JESUS CHRIST within to be their Guide*. "For you know many of us, before we received the truth as it is in

were aggregated and built up by George Fox. It was through his mission, that their own dim apprehensions and semi-discoveries were clenched and perfected, gained a shape and name. Through his mission—I will not say *they learnt* that they were inwardly related by their constitution as human beings to the Divine Word—but they learnt how to give it a doctrinal utterance,—they learnt how to use that awful central truth as God's weapon for the reformation of themselves and of the Church, and the reduction of the World into the Kingdom of His Son. By Fox's mission they were given a centre, were drawn together; by it a great veil was taken away, and they perceived that they had all along been seeking in a Common Spirit a common end; that they were not mere individuals, but parts and members of a common body. Hence his mission was the magnetic and formative principle of Quakerism.

vii. And what was the producing cause of this mission ?

JESUS, felt some stirrings of life, and therefore separated in our judgments and opinions from the generality of our neighbors and countrymen where we dwelt; because of an inward cry from a deep want in our souls, and a hungering after the constant enjoyment of that which we with many others possessed, but could not find in any thing under the sun." [4to., London, 1678.] John Crook was a Justice of the Peace, in Bedfordshire. His first tract, written 1659, was against Tithes. In this *Epistle*, 1678, he takes already, though Quakerism was not yet thirty years old, a *traditional* ground, and talks of decline and loss. Even in the beginning of 1647, George Fox says, "I met with some friendly people." [*Journal*, p. 6, fol. ed. 1694.]

George Fox's own personal experience.* He came to the Light of the Divine WORD, in himself; he found his evil deeds shown him and reproved. He obeyed the Light of the Divine WORD in himself; he found his evil deeds, his very will to evil, mortified and arrested. He connected this process with his nature, as a member of an Elect Redeemed Humankind, for which the Heavenly FATHER cared, for which CHRIST died: not as an individual picked by authoritative and reasonless favor from a Reprobated Humankind, for which GOD did not care, for which CHRIST had not died. In other words, he felt that the illumination, reproof, and help of the Light belonged to him *as a man*.† Therefore he felt free to go up and down the world, proclaiming GOD's Grace within man to every human creature.

viii. And what are the catechetical doctrines and tenets of Quakerism? The inferences and deductions of George Fox from the Principle. So soon as he realized the voice of CHRIST in the conscience, the indwelling of the SPIRIT in the Saints, the unity of the Church through that indwelling, the spirituality of the Redeemed Society, he began to connect these truths with all the distracting evils

* "The LORD in that day opened these things *unto me in secret*; they have since been published by His Eternal SPIRIT, as on the house-top."—*Journal*, 1647, [p. 11, fol. ed. 1694.]

† "I cried unto the LORD saying, Why should I be thus, seeing I was never addicted to commit those evils? And the LORD answered that it was needful I should have a sense of all conditions; how else should I speak to all conditions? And in this I saw the infinite love of GOD."—*Journal*, 1647, p. 13.

which he saw, heard, suffered from, in the Church and World. Every peculiarity of the Quaker constitution, its tenets, its habits, the symbols by which it endeavored to distinguish its members from the World, had been insisted upon by some person or another, in some Christian Schism or another, long before George Fox. The non-payment of the ministry for ecclesiastical offices had been witnessed to by Jesuits; the wearing of a peculiar dress in order to distinguish the Holy Body from the World, had been witnessed to by all orders of monks and nuns; the silent waiting, by many Mystics. Some of their tenets were the floating notions of the ultra Puritans; as, for instance, the forbidding of the use of mourning habits and grave stones by the Holy Body. The confused delusion of a Society of sinless men, οἱ καθαροί, had visited the Novatians, and a perpetual succession of schismatics. But all these, and many more, passed through the alembic of *Fox's own mind*, before they were built up into their place in the Quaker constitution. To those which he derived from the religious World around him, to those which he drew from that "righteous Christer," his father, and from the shepherd his lere-father, he gave a new intensity and use, by interpreting them in his central idea, the Divine Light. Those which had been witnessed to by elder Sects, he did not derive from Ecclesiastical History; for when he began his mission he was unacquainted with it; and when he got some smatterings of it in later life, he used it, as he used the beginning of Ecclesiastical History in the New Testament, not for the discovery of the truth, but for the confirmation of what he believed to be the

truth. If he had known any thing of the history of Schisms, this knowledge would have given another direction to the Quaker movement. For whatever he had, he built into this system. Having ignorance of Ecclesiastical History (which is the real record of God's judgment upon the Church and Sects), he built that ignorance into the Quaker constitution.

ix. What are those outward symbols and badges by which for two hundred years Quakers have been distinguished from the general mass of men? They are *George Fox's forms*; they are his methods of marking the children of the Light from the children of the Apostasy. It was *because George Fox saw* that men and women under the Apostasy were saying "Good morning" and "Good evening" to persons to whom they really wished wretched days and wretched nights; *because George Fox heard* men and women telling folk whom they hated the sight of, how glad they were to see them, that he declared the children of Light were "forbidden to use the World's hypocritical salutations."* At this day a Quaker does not say "Good bye" to me (God abide with you), *because two hundred years ago a holy man came across many people who said these true-hearted words without the true heart.* And yet if I part with a Quaker he will say "Farewell" to me, which *means* the same thing. But what constraining moral power is there in this *Quaker form* of wishing good which is lacking in *other forms* of wishing good? Is it less possible for a man to wish me

* *Concerning Good Morrow and Good Even; the World's Hypocritical Salutations.* [4to., London, 1657, p. 14.]

ill when he says "Farewell" than to wish me a bad night when he says "Good night?" Two hundred years have proved that the substitution of "Thou" and "Thee" for you has been as vain and inutile. That "Thou" may be the very vehicle of worldly flattery it was intended to be a charm against, was made evident so early as Sewell's dedication of his *History* to George the First.* If he would not take off his hat to the King, the whole spirit of hat-worship is in his preface. If any Quaker of the first age had had to address George the First he would most probably have ordered him to repent of his whoredoms and adulteries, to put aside his harlots, and reconcile himself to his own son.

x. Can such distinctions be the marks by which we are to tell the Church from the World? No: the preservation of such distinctions is a sign that George Fox built up *himself*, *his* notions, *his* provisions, into the Quaker constitution. Such distinctions are signs that he was not enabled to watch the *universal working* of the WORD of God in the History of the World, with the same intensity, faithfulness, clearness, and good use, with which he watched His *particular working* in his own soul. They are signs that he was setting about a work which no *mere man* can do—that of becoming a root and branch reformer of the Church. For the belief that reform is needed, involves the confession that the worldly principle

* "*Great and Mighty Prince!*"—so it begins. Compare the beginnings of George Fox's Epistles to Charles II. of England, and to Johannes III. of Poland. "*King Charles! O King! Friend, who art the chief ruler of these dominions,*" &c.

has entered into the Church; and if so, reformation must be a casting out of the worldly principle, a redivision of the Church and the World, a remaking of the Church. This is what George Fox believed Quakerism was doing. The completed Quaker Body was to be the New Jerusalem, the real and ultimate Peculium. But no man can do this work of thorough purgation and edification unless he can see into every conscience, into all places, at all times. In other words, *only One MAN* can do it—the LORD from Heaven, Who wrought the reformation in George Fox's heart, Who cast the world out of it, and built it up in His own image.

xi. Did George Fox carry on his own work as a reformer, on *His Method*? I think not. For that blessed and Divine Reformer Who sees into all consciences, and knows every condition, when He found thieves and mercenaries in His FATHER'S House, did not go and build *another house*, with bolts which thieves might burst, with bars through which they would find easy way; but He turned the thieves out of *that House*. So I believe that it is by the Church which He Himself began, and which He will cleanse of its apostasies, and not by any of the substitutes for Her—with all their apt, but violable, provisions against hypocrisy, superstition, heresy, false doctrine—that He will leaven the World. For all such provisions, fit and wise as they seem for a certain time, for a special country, for a peculiar class of men, bear on them the stamp of the provider. They are Augustinian, Benedictine, Franciscan, Lutheran, Ignatian, Foxite, Wesleyan. They bear no mark of an Eternal and Catho-

lic fitness. How, indeed, can an *Eternal* mark between the Church and the World be set by any except One to Whom the Past and the Future are equally and for ever *Present*? How can a *Universal* mark be set by any except One to Whom *every* conscience in the Universe is *always* lying open for judgment?

xii. The nearest approach we can make to an insight so *Eternal*, so *Catholic*, is by *History*. Yet, what a weak, insufficient, fallible insight that must be! Each generation tells the preceding one that it misunderstood the scope and meaning of half its records. Nearly every fresh writer, of any power, overturns some historical conclusion which ages have accepted; and those characters of men which we believed set for ever, are reversed in the most unexpected way. But how frightfully hopeless it must be to attempt to fix, *de novo*, the laws and manners of a Universal Society, without perfect knowledge of all the *History* which we can know! This one thing *History* does teach us,—that the particular cannot be a law to the Universal, the species to the Genus, the part to the Whole, the member to the Body, Fox to Mankind. And in so far as the Quaker constitution is Foxite, or Barclayite, or characteristically stamped by any fallible man or men, it has an inescapable element of decay in its very being; it *must* die. It is only a question of time, and of corrective conditions, how long the principle of decay will be in working out its final decease.

CHAPTER III.

THE SECULAR CONTRIBUTION.

- i. Introductory—Partial or Secular Character of all Schisms—Self-destructive Exaggeration of the point they separate upon.
- ii. Schisms as against the Age, and as created by the Age—Quakerism, anti-Puritan and hyper-Puritan.
- iii. Quakerism *the* Sect of the Seventeenth Century. The “godly, thorough Reformation”—All Sects failed to realize it.
- iv. Quakerism became the Sect of the Time, by protesting against the Puritan Theology as unable to realize the “godly, thorough Reformation.”
- v. Quakerism became the Sect of the Age by asserting its own Theology as the method.
- vi. And by adopting the Secular (that is, the Puritan) theory of Life, Worship, &c., as *in itself, the* Reformation.
- vii. Secularity of Schisms a Seed of sure Decay—Quakerism as a Product of the Seventeenth Seculum.
- viii. The Scriptural meaning of an *Age*—Opposition of the Age, with all its Products, to the Eternal Order, or Church.
- ix. Evil Elements of the Seventeenth Century built up into Quakerism.
- x. One Seculum cannot legislate for all—Eternity the Law for all Ages, and not one Age for all.
- i. In this chapter I intend to notice the element con-

tributed to the original constitution of Quakerism by the *Age* or *Seculum* in which it arose.

It is the invariable nature of Schisms to bear upon them the characteristics of a *Time*. It is manifested both in what they exaggerate and in what they lack. For, supposing an enduring or *non-secular* Body to be compounded, say, of twenty necessary conditions, every one of which requires to be duly manifested, and bringing forth life, a *Schismatic* body ensues, where one, or two, or many, of these conditions are left unmanifested, are fruitless; so that the really enduring body *appears* dead. This one, or two, or many, will be the central and governing conditions of the schismatic body, will hold an exaggerated importance in it; while the nineteen, or remaining conditions will hold unduly subordinate places in it; their life will become cramped, their use die out. A Schism succeeds by opposing the recognized evils of the *Seculum*, by pointing out the unrecognized, and by satisfying its felt and fancied needs.

ii. So a Schism arising in any particular age, and having great success in that age, would be at once more in conflict with the *Seculum*, and yet more in harmony with it than any co-existing body. Thus, Quakerism seems more strenuously opposed than any other Schism of that most schismatic of all ages, to the very spirit of the seventeenth century, its own age; and yet to be expressing that spirit as no other among its Schisms could do. Every one will acknowledge that the prominent characteristic of England in the middle of the seventeenth century was Puritanism. Yet Quakerism was, in the first

principles of its Theology and Anthropology, the most essentially *unpuritan* of all bodies. But in its cultus, form, and modes, it was *more Puritan than Puritanism* itself.

iii. Quakerism was not only *an* expression of the temper of the Seventeenth Seculum, it was *the* Sect of the times. The real aim of that Seculum was, as its profound satirist has represented it in his *Hudibras*, "a godly, thorough Reformation." Even Archbishop Laud, whom all the Herods and Pilates of the time agreed in denouncing as the most formidable enemy of the Age's movement, was actually martyred for attempting to carry out *what he believed* to be a "godly, thorough Reformation." But with such a Reformation the Seculum was not satisfied. It did not answer to that informal, confused, phantasmal Reformation in the hot brains of the religionists of the day. Presbyterianism tried to satisfy it, but failed. The Independents and Anabaptists tried, but failed. The Seekers, Ranters, and other Sects, made little and local experiments, but failed. Each new Sect said to the newest except itself, 'You are *not going far enough*.' While that in its turn answered, 'You are *going too far*.'*

* Thus Richard Baxter, from his Presbyterian point of view, says, "*To the Separatists and Anabaptists in England*: You do but prepare too many for a further progress; Seekers, Ranters, Familists, and too many professed Infidels, do spring up from among you, as if this were your journey's end and the perfection of your revolt. You may see that you cannot hold your followers when you have them. Your work is blasted; you labor in vain. You do but prepare men for flat heresy and apostasy. I have heard yet from the several parts of the

But the moment Quakerism appeared as a definite institution and set of *credenda* (for it did come to the great mass as a system of *credenda*), and as *the Church* into which men *must* enter, it succeeded. Leslie says that George Fox had at one time one hundred thousand disciples, so rapidly his movement spread. The Seekers found that it was what they were seeking. The great Puritan Sects lost all their most consistently Puritan members; for they perceived that the honest and logical working out of the Puritan theories was exhibited in Quakerism. They were already there in heart; they merely went forward and took that advanced ground of which they had all along had glimpses and surmises. Quakerism *spoke out* what the Seculum was half fancying—was indefinitely expectiug. It gathered up, completed, and proclaimed forth, in a wonderful manner, all the serious thoughts, the fears, the suspicions, and the ill-digested theories, which had long been visiting the men of that time.

iv. First, Quakerism became *the Sect of the Age* by making a protest against the Puritan Theology and Churches as unable to carry on the “godly, thorough Reformation,” that illusion of the Seculum. They opposed Puritanism so far as it seemed to be hindering that Reformation. It seemed to them to be hindering it, chiefly, by its hard, dogmatic, exclusive view of God’s temper to-

land, but of very few that have drunk in this venom of the Ranters or Quakers, but such as have first been of your opinions, and gone out at that door.”—Second Preface to *The Quaker’s Catechism* [4to., London, 1665.]

ward men, and by its still clinging to a belief in the possibility of a National or Parliamentary Church. To such theories, as I have said in an earlier place, Quakerism opposed the Doctrines of the Universal Inward Light and Grace, and the Doctrine of the Spiritual Church. So far, it set itself *in contradiction to* Puritanism. But in the matters of the ministry, worship, and discipline, it condemned Puritanism by *surpassing* it. 'You are right,' the Quaker would have said to the Puritan, 'in all that you have urged against that daughter of Babylon, the late Church of the Prelates; but you do not go far enough. You do not perceive the issue of the principles you yourselves have started. It is because you do not believe in the Light, because you resist His lessons, that you stop half-way in the work of the LORD. Your assertion of the need of a Divine call to the ministry, you invalidate by still receiving Oxford and Cambridge students. Your assertion of the unity and spirituality of the Church, you invalidate by talking of a Church of *England*—by meeting in stone steeple-houses and calling them churches; and so through every point of witness given you to uphold. You will not return to the Master His talent with interest.'*

* George Fox says, in his *Epistle to Gathered Churches into Outward Forms*, "Ye have run on without a King, without CHRIST the Light of the World, which hath enlightened every one that is come into the world. But now is truth risen, now are your fruits withering."—*Journal*, p. 161, [fol ed. 1694.]

William Dewsbury, in his *Discovery of the Great Enmity of the Serpent against the Seed of the Woman* [4to., London, 1655], is

v. Secondly, Quakerism became *the Sect* of the Age, by asserting its own Theology and Church as the only efficient *Method* of the "godly, thorough Reformation," that dream of the Age. The Quakers discerned the inmost spirit and purpose of that Seculum. It, the world then passing away and the glory of it, was a peculiarly "religious world." The Puritans were the men of the time. They had cast down the Church as unholy, they had driven her Priests to garrets and prisons, and they had set up, as they fancied, a real Kingdom of CHRIST upon her ruins. But the world felt that Puritanism had not brought in the righteousness, unity, and joy in the HOLY GHOST which it was blindly groping after; and religious men saw that the fine

very bitter on the glee and self-confidence of the Puritans on their "Reformation." "England, who, according to her own lusts, hath heaped teachers to herself, that hath spoken smooth things to her, calling her the beautiful Church and Spouse of CHRIST."

Also, *A Return to the Priests about Beverly for their Advisement*, [4to., London, 1653.] "The *English Church* held up by you the English Teachers who gave forth this book; who are made by the will of man; those who are come to *The Church of God*, by you called Quakers, deny such." This book, or "advisement," by the Presbyterian and other teachers, is thus named: "*A Faithful Discovery of a Treacherous Design of Mystical Antichrist, displaying CHRIST's Banners, but attempting to lay waste Scriptures, Churches, CHRIST, Faith, Hope, &c., and to establish Paganism in England.*" [4to, London, 1653, pp. 60.] This tract is very moderate, and admits that many of the evils witnessed against really exist. The Quaker's *Return* is very violent.

new Army and Parliament Churches were not manifesting forth the life of JESUS. A spirit of dissent against Presbyterian and Independent Puritanism arose from end to end of England. Sects sprung up like mushrooms in a night; all differing from each other in idea and method, but all agreeing in *end*, for one and all set before them as the real τέλος of the Age, the enthusiastic delusion of a "godly, thorough Reformation. Some expected it through General Assemblies, some through a New Discipline, some by imprisonments and persecutions, some by the sudden appearance of CHRIST to Judgment. Quakerism arose amid all these. It agreed with them in aiming at the same τέλος; but it differed with by making this glorious assertion: 'CHRIST *has come*, He is knocking *now* at every conscience in Christendom, asking to be let in. The LORD has come Himself to teach His people.' They differed in scorning and rejecting all the methods labored for and dreamt of by the other Sects. The coming Discipline, the Parliamentary Statutes, Imprisonments, the Appearance of CHRIST in the Flesh, they thought all needless methods. He had come in the Spirit and Will, in the centre of man's being, in the only part of the creation where the working out of a really 'godly, thorough Reformation' was possible."*

* See, *inter alia*, the experience of the different Quaker Apostles, as sketched in Sewell's *History*; John Whitehead's Autobiography, entitled, *The Enmitie between the Two Seeds* [London, 4to., 1655]; William Dewsbury's Autobiography, affixed, under the title "The First Birth," to his *Discovery of the Enmity* [4to., 1655]; John Perrot's in the Epistle to the Reader,

vi. Thirdly, Quakerism became *the Sect* of the Age by putting forward the loose, unchurchly, *Secular* theories concerning worship, the ministry, prohibitions, and outward distinctions between the Church and the world, as in themselves *the* "godly, thorough Reformation." They exaggerated Puritanism. For not only the world, but Puritans themselves, felt that Puritanism had not brought in that glorious Spiritual Kingdom, to the easy advent of which the orders and rites of the Catholic Church had seemed to them the only hindrance. They pushed their theology through various Church forms, one after the other: from Presbyterianism into Independency, and from Independency to Anabaptism. But they gained no greater purity, no wider success. An immense body lay predisposed to accept any institution which should offer a surer path to the Puritan τέλος. Quakerism was peculiarly fitted to make such a promise. It met both those classes of Puritans who felt sure that there was a wrong element somewhere or other in their own *Ism*: it met that class who believed that the disorder lay in its theology, by calling them off from the exercises and sermons "made out of the saints' conditions and heathen authors," to the Divine WORD in the heart: it met that class who believed that Puritanism had not reached its τέλος because it stood still, by exaggerating, or rather, by developing

his before *Mystery of Baptism and the LORD's Supper* [London, 4to., 1662]; Francis Howgill, in the *Glory of the True Church Discovered, as it was in its Purity in the Primitive Time* [8vo., 1660, p. 160]: chapter iv. pp. 29-31, he proves that Quakerism is the only way out of the Apostasy into the Reformation.

to the utmost, all those *Secular* theories of Puritanism which arose from its own confusion of itself with the Church, and of all unpuritan men and sects with the World. The Quaker prohibitions of music, of mourning-habits and gravestones, and almost every other item of the Book of Discipline, arose from the Puritan spirit of the Seventeenth Seculum contributing to Quakerism; they had all been contended for by some prior Schism of the Time.*

vii. This *Secularity* of Schisms is a cause of their inevitable decay. The only constitution which cannot decay must be an *Eternal* one—that is, it must be as fitted for to-day as it was for yesterday; for to-morrow as either; —for the nineteenth century as for the seventeenth; for the twentieth as for either. Now the cause of a Sect breaking off from the Universal Body, must be either from self-will, or from some supposed or real inefficiency in the Universal Body at the time of such breaking off. But let us accept the most charitable hypothesis; let us say that it breaks off to seek a righteousness which it is not finding in the Universal Body. It seeks, itself, to become

* That Quakerism was not only a *development*, but the *fulfilment*, of Puritanism, is implied in such passages as the following from William Coddington's letter to Richard Bellingham, Governor of Massachusetts:—"Consider that forty-five years past thou didst own such a suffering people that now thou dost persecute. They were against bishops, and ceremonies, and conformable priests. They *were* the Seed of God, that did serve Him in spirit: *then* called *Puritans*, *now* called *Quakers*." —*W. C.'s Demonstration of True Love unto the Rulers of the Colony of Massachusetts*, pp. 19, 20 [4to, 1674].

a universal body, and to build a final and enduring home for righteousness. All sects have this vision of hope; they would be lunacies or follies if they had not. But a constitution built by men of a special Age or Seculum, must be built with the tools which that Seculum supplies. Laws given forth, theories evolved, bases laid, customs prescribed, in certain periods, must be spoken, evolved, laid down, in such words and modes as are current among the men of those periods. The founders cannot leap over two centuries, and take the instruments, the language, and the methods of an unborn time, to build their institution, lay down their laws, prescribe their customs. If the fathers of Quakerism had done so, the Quaker constitution and customs would have certainly suited what is called the "spirit of the nineteenth century," though it would not so certainly have suited the spirit of the twentieth century. But then it would not have suited the seventeenth century, the time for which it was really wanted. They might have cast it down among their own contemporaries; but none would have seen in it any interpretation of their Age's questions—none would have run into it as the long-expected resting-place for their worn and homeless spirits: none would have seen any fitness or desirableness in it. The founders would have had a glorious prophetic vision; they would not have done any thing for the help and benefit of men.

viii. A further light is thrown on the decay of a specific religious society, marked with the characteristics of a specific age, when we think of the Scriptural purport of the term *Age*. The Bible speaks of the Age or *Secu-*

lum—of the spirit of the Age, as *evil*, or, at least, as *not good*. It is the “*World that passeth away*.” It is the “*present evil World*.” It is the whole circle of business, amusement, knowledge, government, religion, considered as uninformed by the Divine Presence. It is the aggregate of human influences considered as only human. It is the World as left to itself. It is that self-willed spirit of false and hasty judgment which condemns and sneers at all the Past, because it was unlike itself; and which, notwithstanding, sets up itself as the law and rule for all times to come. It is the spirit which resists the *Ecclesia*, or Kingdom of God, or *Eternal* Constitution, arising out of *no Age* or *Seculum*—bound by no condition of past, present, or future, but ready for *all Ages*—the *Secula Seculorum*. Out of this distinction rises the everlasting strife between the pure ecclesiastical and pure secular: corruptions in the Church, the necessity and rise of sects, spring from confounding them.

ix. The Age, or *Seculum*, as distinct from the *Ecclesia* with which it co-exists, contains in itself elements either *evil* or *not good*. If a schism be organized into a formal constitution by a contribution from the the HOLY SPIRIT, from the personal founder, and from the Age or *Seculum*, the secular element must be chosen out of these *evil* or *not good* characteristics. It is not likely that men believing themselves directed by the HOLY SPIRIT, and seeking to do a Holy Will, would select the *evil*. They would choose the *not good*; that is, the public opinion, the illusions and errors, the excited mental epidemics and enthusiasms of the Age; they would build up these into

their system. And these are the very elements which the builders of Quakerism chose out of the Seventeenth Seculum; or, rather, which the spirit of the Seventeenth Seculum forced upon them. These elements are visible in Quakerism at this day; like old rusted armor which living men can neither wear, nor know how to use; which, if they could wear it, and did use it, would not be the least defence against existing enemies, but rather a help to the wearer's own destruction. And the worst of it is, instead of being, like such old armor, a thing for antiquarians to admire and talk over, Quakers are *expected*, by Quakerism, *to wear and use* this strange gear of the days of their fathers.

x. One century can no more legislate for eternity—can no more set up its temporal secular idiosyncrasies for a law to *all* centuries—than one individual can do so for the race. A universal religion and church must be eternal as to times, as well as catholic as to places and persons. It must not only *not be* Roman, Greek, English, Genevan; it must not only *not be* Montanist, Phocian, Wesleyan, Foxite, Laudian; it must *neither be* of the Patristic, Mediæval, or Reforming *Ages*. It must be fitted to what is enduring in men, to that which is the *same* in all ages: that is, to the human spirit pressed down by sin, thirsting for deliverance from it. For Religion and the Church exist to take hold of the eternal part of man—of that which knows no change,—the redeemed Seed, the communication of the Immutable God in him.

BOOK III.

THE DISCIPLINE OF QUAKERISM.

CHAPTER I.

- i. *Preservation of Quakerism by Discipline.*
- ii. A Discipline *not expected* by the first Quakers.
- iii. CHRIST JESUS *the Discipliner* of Christians.
- iv. Testimony of *Quaker Documents.*
- v. *Schisms* at the Establishment of a Discipline.
- vi. The Establishment of a Quaker Discipline a *Cession* of Quaker assumptions.
- vii. A Glance at the *Preservative Influence* of the Discipline.
- viii. This Influence *inherent*, not merely associative.

i. Is the discipline of Quakerism connected in any casual manner with Quaker *decay*? Before saying yes or no to this question, I must assert my conviction that the Discipline of Quakerism has been connected in a casual manner with the *life* of Quakerism. But I must say, at the same time, that this connection between Discipline and Life is traceable only in the way of *preservation*, and not in the way of *growth*; as a conservative element, and not as an aggressive and assimilative one. Yet the only true and enduring preservation is *preservation by*

means of growth; that is, by a real informing principle of life. Growth is a function or faculty of real preservation. Preservation by Discipline alone is but a temporary arrest of decay.

ii. I think there can be little doubt that the *idea* of a Discipline in their Society at all, the conviction of their *need* of a Discipline, took the first Quakers by surprise. For if, as I have already hinted in this Essay, *the idea, the conviction* at the bottom of the Quaker constitution was the essentially schismatical one, that it was to be the Peculium of God, the holy and utterly sinless Seed, the body of perfected ones, the true Catholic Church, those *οἱ καθαροί* which Novatians, Donatists, and every successive Sect had hoped themselves to be; then it was evident that the very suggestion of a Discipline for the Quaker body, was a kind of unconscious confession that they too, like their predecessors in the pathway of Schism, were journeying to a delusion—that they could not be the Peculium, for unrighteousness and disorder had found a way into their society.

iii. If George Fox and his fellows, in the first flush of their success, when calling upon all men to “come out of the Apostasy,” and from “man-made Sects” to the Church of the Living GOD, had been asked how they should arrange, supposing *sin* was to appear in the holy Church (*i. e.* in Quakerism), or supposing Christians (*i. e.* Quakers) required to marry, to educate children, to bury friends—they would have put aside the questioner as one “out of the Light,” and the question as a “speech of darkness.” ‘The Light Himself, CHRIST within us, is our

Discipliner,' they would have said. 'We have no need of Canons, rules, written laws. He will show His Church what to do, and what to avoid, every moment.' This, certainly, was their belief; it took, however, a distorted form, and later gave rise to the hyper-Quaker Schism which called forth Barclay's *Anarchy of the Ranters*, and Penn's *Liberty Spiritual*. And what are all Canons, and rules of Discipline, but a cage against whose bars the spirit wounds her breast, and breaks her wings, except she has the sense of a Divine and loving Discipliner, Who is also a Giver of true liberty? Thus that great Father of the Church, S. Clement of Alexandria, gives to his whole book of advices and rules upon eating, drinking, marriages, children, laughter, evil-speaking, gems, ointments, perfumes, and so on, the name of *The Discipliner* (Παιδαγωγός). And that Discipliner is JESUS CHRIST our LORD, "LIGHT OF LIGHT."*

iv. Here I will quote what Quakerism itself declares of its Discipline, and declares, too, in its official character. "It cannot be said that any System of Discipline formed a part of the original compact of the Society. There was not, indeed, to human appearance, any thing systematic in its formation; it was an association of per-

* So, too, S. Augustine:—"Disciplina a discendo dicta est: Disciplina Domus est Ecclesia CHRISTI. Quid ergo hic discitur, vel quare discitur? Qui sunt qui discunt, et a Quo discunt? Discitur bene vivere. Propter hoc discitur bene vivere, ut perveniatur ad semper vivere. Discunt Christiani, docet CHRISTUS."—*De Disciplinâ Christianâ: Omn. Opera S. August.* [Ed. Caillau, tom. xxvii. p. 109.]

sons who were earnestly seeking, yea, panting after, the saving knowledge of Divine Truth.”*

v. Thus, not only by deduction from Quaker principle, but also by the official confession of the Society, we see that the Quaker Discipline was an un contemplated thing. The violent objection with which the Discipline was assailed by some of the more primitive Quakers, and the fact that Barclay and Penn were the defenders of it, show this still more plainly.† “It proved a great trial of spirits. The self-willed and lawless opposed it with vehemence, and it must be admitted that not a few of a very different class were drawn aside by specious arguments to oppose what was represented as an encroachment upon individual spiritual liberty.”‡ But the times of decay had already set in when William Penn became an authority among Quakers.§ For he (like the Friends of our

* Introduction to the *Rules of Discipline*, p. 16. [London, 4to., 1834-49.]

† “This spirit cries, We must not judge conscience, we must not judge matters of faith, and we must not judge spirits, nor religions.” George Fox, singularly enough, appeals to the *Bible* to refute Perrot, Pennyman, and the rest: —“All you that *deny prescriptions* without distinction, may as well deny all the Scriptures, which are given forth by the power and SPIRIT of GOD. For do not they prescribe how men should walk both towards God and man, both in the Old Testament and in the New?”—*Journal*, 1678.

‡ Tract Association of the Society of Friends. Tract 124, p. 23. London, 1855.

§ Doubtless, the extraordinary show of Polish, French, Lutheran, Patristic, and Apologetic learning exhibited by George Fox at this date (as in his letter to King John III. of Poland)

own age) looked upon Quakerism more as an example of what the Church *should be*, than as *the actual and only* Peculium of God. The establishment of a Discipline was, in itself, (apart from the wisdom or folly of its laws, time after time), an unconscious prophecy of decay. For the aggressive growth of Quakerism continued only so long as Quakerism proclaimed itself *the* restored Church of GOD; but its Discipline regards it as a private religious family.

vi. The establishment of a Discipline, also (by showing that sin appeared in the Quaker body), became a silent confession that the presence of sin in the existing Church and Sects did not (as pure Quakerism certainly had believed and preached), necessarily, unchurch these bodies. As long as it was assumed by the Quakers that they were the Peculium, the True Church, every one who heard of the assumption was concerned also to know its truth. It was a great matter, not merely whether men were Christians or not, but also whether they joined "the Seed of God, called Quakers," or not. The ignorant already in that Seed, would preach and labor the harder, cleave all the more closely to it, for the monstrous assumption. The ignorant without the Society, would be the more sternly arrested to hearken to the Quaker preachers, as they are now to listen to the Mormonites. Thus the assumption both gave vigor to the inward life of the Society, and also furthered its outward growth. But when Quakers gave up this assumption, the whole relation was lent him by Penn, Keith, or Barclay, all of whom travelled with him on the Continent.—*Journal*, 1678.

of things was changed. It was the cutting of Samson's locks. The religion at which all sects and opinions trembled, became the most harmless and powerless of all. If Quakerism be but a denomination—a *part* of the Church—and if other sects be other parts, then every man is free to choose the part which pleases or suits him the most. The Quaker may prefer some other body; or he may prefer the body in which his habits were formed, to which his associations are bound. But still he can give up Quakerism without being an apostate. The gap yawning at one time between Quakerism and other *isms* is filled up. Quakerism has ceased to be, has ceased to pretend to be, obligatory on the conscience.

vii. Yes, a young man or young woman trained up under the Quaker Discipline *may*, indeed, without sin, give up Quakerism. But here comes in the real *preservative* power of that Discipline. The character of his, of her, life has been formed by it. By it he and she have learned to look at the world, and home, and faith, and duty, and CHRIST. By it they have learned some interpretation of the mystery and difficulty of living. By it they have learned to avoid the things they are avoiding, and to permit the things they are permitting. It has been, and is, the *Canon* of their life, that by which they have ruled the right or wrong of every thing. They are, in greater or less measure, the creatures of it, and it is difficult for them, and not merely undesirable, to escape their creator's grasp.

viii. And this preservative power must be put down to the Discipline itself, as something *over and above* that

ordinary power of association, which, as it carries the sons and daughters of Churchmen to the Parish Church, the children of Independents and Anabaptists to the Chapel, or the children of Methodists to the Preaching-house, would take the children of Quakers to Meeting. The Discipline has given to Quakers, the weakest of all Sects in power of external conviction and growth, a source of *internal* strength which every other Sect, which the Church herself, might covet. Every member the Church keeps, she keeps in spite of her lack of a Discipline; or, rather, in spite of the abeyance of her Discipline. And now that, in the mercy of her King, she is reawakening to a fresh sense of her tremendous mission, and is looking into her armory, and counting whether she shall be able with her thousands of thousands to meet those who come against her with their tens of thousands, the first need she perceives is her want of a Discipline. For this she expresses, in her great annual mourning on Ash Wednesday, her fervent longing and hope.*

* Commination Office.

CHAPTER II.

- i. Idea of *a Peculium* necessary to a Discipline.
- ii. The *Whole Work* of a Discipline—The *Branches* of a Discipline.
- iii. *To keep the World and the Church asunder.*
- iv. *What is the World?*—With Early Quakerism?—With Modern?
- v. The *Two Worlds* of Holy Scripture—The Human World—The Carnal.
- vi. *Schisms confound* these Two Worlds.
- vii. The Human World is *Redeemed*.
- viii. The Carnal World is *Reprobated*—Distinctions of Saint Augustine.

i. I HAVE said that in the establishment of a Discipline, the Quaker Church implicitly ceded its assumption of being *the Peculium*.

Albeit, without the idea of *a Peculium*—that is, of a holy, invisible, and eternal Society, as distinct from the unholy, visible, and passing-away Society of the World—a Church Discipline would not only lose sight of its end, but also want strength and will to move toward any high end at all. For the end of Discipline is *perfection*; παιδαγωγία aims at making every one whom it disciplines a τέλειος: and at nothing less. The end of Discipline is

the realization in the actual and visible Church, or in any part of it, of the absolute purity and goodness of the ideal "Church of the Firstborn" in Heaven—the Society of the HOLY TRINITY, of the Angels, of the Patriarchs, Prophets, Apostles, Martyrs, Confessors, and the whole company of the Blessed Dead, who, though dead, yet live. And this purity and goodness of the Ideal Church is unrealized, is made impossible, in the actual Church, or in any part of it, by the discovery of worldly elements in it. Thus, while the *positive* work of a Church Discipline is the edification of the Church members in a really churchly or renewed life, its *negative* work is the keeping out of all worldly elements.

ii. Or, to speak broadly, the *whole* work of a Discipline is—to preserve alive the eternal distinctions between the Church and the World; the reprobated body and the elect body; the body inspired by the indwelling SPIRIT and the body left to itself. This is done; First, by preventing worldly persons and worldly elements from entering into the Redeemed body; as such Discipline is *prohibitional*, and consists in the prohibition of, or restriction from, certain wicked and *worldly* acts or things, that men may not unchurch themselves from that fellowship with GOD which is true Church fellowship, and so lay open to excommunication by the Church, or body that represents the Church. Secondly, by casting forth such elements wheresoever they have entered; as such, Discipline is *penitential*, and calls for that change and forsaking of mind, that compunction and confession, by which men are reunited to, or realize their union with, GOD and

all the Holy Society in Heaven and on earth; and on which they are received again into the visible communion of the body which represents to them the Church on earth, the body being here—Quakerism. Thirdly, by taking charge of all those matters necessary to the Redeemed Body as a collection of *human beings*; such as birth, death, holy matrimony, education, the poverty of members; or matters necessary to the Redeemed Body as consisting of Spirits *in the flesh*, Spirits reached through the senses, as ministry, meetings, buildings for worship: as such, Discipline is *institutional*.

iii. Such are the general branches into which a Discipline must be divided, if its purpose be to keep asunder the Church (or body supposing itself to be the Church) and the World. *What* elements, *what* persons, will this Discipline prohibit? *Worldly* elements, *worldly* persons. *Who* are the subjects of its penitential canons? *Worldly* persons, or at least those who have become, for the time, or in the act to be repented of, unchurchly (or, in Quaker phrase, *unfriendly*.)

Thus, the whole character and tone of the Discipline of any religious society calling itself the Church, depends immensely upon its interpretation of the term *World*, upon *what* the members abjure when they forsake the World.

iv. Ancient Quakers, I think, would have said that they meant, by the World, all persons who were resisting the entry of CHRIST'S Light into their darkness; all who were loving their own darkness above His Light; all elements which were contrary to His Nature and Will; im-

plicitly, all *unquakerly* elements. Modern Quakers would say, I think, that they understand by the World, what the Holy Scripture understands by it.

v. The Bible speaks of *two Worlds*. Our LORD says, in the Gospel of S. John,* that there is a World which GOD the FATHER so loved that He gave His only begotten SON for it; which the SON so loves that he is always seeking to draw it nearer and nearer to Himself, by His SPIRIT and Light,—to transmute it into His own Body, the Church. The Church—therefore, or whatsoever society may think itself the Church—must surely be bound to love *this* World, which her FATHER loves, which her Husband the LORD JESUS loves. S. John says there is a World which GOD calls upon us not to love. All that is in it is contrary to Himself, to His Divine Righteousness, to His Fatherly Nature, to the SPIRIT and Light of His SON; it has no care for, no unity with, anything but *itself*; it is already under the condemnation of GOD. That World which the Church is to love and this World which the Church is not to love, cannot be one and the same World; they must be two *contradictory* Worlds.

vi. Is there not a danger, then, that a new Schism—which separates itself from the existing Church, for the very reason that its members may be more strictly distinguished from the World than they have ever yet been—may make some confusion between these *two* Worlds, and take the one for the other? Is it not possible that they may separate themselves from that World which the Husband of the Church yearns over, which has in it a

* S. John, iii. 16.

measure of His Light and of His SPIRIT? Is it not possible they may unite themselves, in some way, still more closely, with that very World from which the Church is called to be separate, against whose selfish divisions and self-witnessings she is set up to bear eternal witness for God?

I believe that it is not only possible, or even likely—I believe it is absolutely *certain*—that this will occur. The history of every Schism, from Cerinthus to John Wesley's Societies, seems to me to prove it. Deluding themselves that they are in the Church, or least the truest representatives of the Church, they account all persons and opinions contrary to them as the *not-Church*—in other words, as the World: thus they come to love things which God is hating, and to condemn things which He is justifying.

And what *are* these two Worlds of which the Holy Scriptures speak? Their difference may be set, I think, by two simple adjectives: one is *Human*, the other is *Carnal*.

vii. The *Human World*, that is, the whole Race of Adam's posterity, and all they do and are by God's original fiat, wisdom, and ordering, as the Artist of Mankind, cannot be dead or lost in His sight. For He sees Mankind—not as He made them, nor as they wickedly have unmade and do unmake themselves—but as the Body to which His SON has united Himself, their everlasting Head. In Him we live: as in Adam we *all* died, even so in CHRIST we are *all* made alive. GOD looks upon Humanity, and upon all *human* functions, in His SON. Whether we eat, or drink, or dress, or walk, or laugh, or sing, or

think, or dance, or labor, we *can* do all these to the glory of GOD. These are things which every Christian man in some measure acknowledges, because CHRIST teaches him *as a man*, what He does not teach him as the member of a Sect. But these are things which his Sect in some measure or other denies. For no Sect at all is founded on the nature of Man, which involves (I speak with awe), in the Incarnation, the Nature of GOD: no Sect at all ever separated from the Catholic Church *in order to bear witness to this* (at the time of separation) forgotten truth, "WAS INCARNATE by the HOLY GHOST of the Virgin Mary, AND WAS MADE MAN."* The Creeds are the vindication of Mankind's liberty from man-made, from sect-fancied Disciplines. The Disciplines of Sects have proved a tyranny over the consciences of men, or crushed down their divinely given faculties, their *human* intuitions, because the Sects have held a crude, slippery, or doubting notion of the Incarnation. Though the Quaker Discipline here and there acknowledges, perhaps, with the early Quakers, the fact that CHRIST has baptized every member of our race with a measure of His convicting, saving, and condemning Light,—it never says, it never seems able to say, with S. Augustine, in the *Confessions*, "Thou hast inspired me *through the Humanity* of Thy Son."†

viii. The *Carnal World* is hateful in the eyes of GOD, because it is the corruption, the vitiation, of what He has

* Nicene Creed.

† "Inspirasti mihi per Humanitatem FILII Tui."—Lib. i. c. 1: *Omnia Opera S. Augustini*. [Ed. Caillau, tom. xxv.]

made. It is the whole round of rebellious spirits living as if they were not spirits; the whole mass of evil elements, influences, pursuits, from which every ray of CHRIST'S Light, every effluence of His Life, is utterly banished. It is *lust*, that is, the turning of the whole desire upon Self; the putting of every Self in the place of GOD; the setting up a loose self-will for His Law; of a selfish understanding for His Infinite Reason and Wisdom; and the estimation of Self as the real pivot and centre of the universe.

This World, our LORD says, loves its own, and hates those whom He has chosen out of it.* "It is said to love itself," says S. Augustine, commenting on these words, "because it loves the wickedness by which it is wicked; and again it is said to hate itself, because it loves the thing that hurts it. It hates, therefore, in itself *Nature*, it loves *Vitiation*; it hates what is made *by the goodness of GOD*, it loves what in it is made *by loose free-will*."† And again, he says, "It is the *Vitiation* in it we are forbidden to delight in, and are bidden to delight in the *Nature*; whereas, in its own self it delights in the

* S. John xv. 19.

† "Diligere se dicitur, quoniam iniquitatem qua iniquus est diligit: et rursus odisse se dicitur, quoniam quod ei nocet, hoc diligit. Odit ergo in se Naturam, diligit Vitium: odit quod factus est per DEI bonitatem, diligit quod in eo factum est per liberam voluntatem."—*Tractatus lxxxvii. In Joan. Evang.* § iv. *Omnia Opera S. Augustini.* [Ed. Caillau, tom. xvi. p. 222.]

Vitiation, and hates the Nature : so we can both delight in and hate it rightly, while it delights in and hates its own self perversely.”*

* “Vitium quippe in illo diligere prohibemur, jubemurque diligere Naturam, cum ipse in se diligit Vitium, oderitque Naturam : ut nos eum et diligamus et oderimus recte cum se ipse diligit oderitque perverse.”—*Tractatus lxxxvii. In Joan. Evang. § iv. Omnia Opera S. Augustini.* [Ed. Caillau, tom. xvi. p. 222.]

CHAPTER III

- i. Question stated—To *which World* belong the Prohibitions of the Quaker Discipline?
- ii. The *Things prohibited*.
- iii. *Doers* of these Things Members of the World.
- iv. The Things not inconvenient, but *Sinful*.
- v. Are they *really* sinful, *Carnal*?
- vi. They are *Unquakerly*.
- vii. Evidences that they are really *Human*
- viii. *Heathen Origin* of the Theatre, Names of Months and Days, no reason against the use of them.
- ix. The Discipline of Quakerism *fights against* God by its Prohibitions—The Divine Discipliner.
- x. The Discipline, as penitential, *requires Quakers to repent of Right Acts*.

i. To which of these Worlds belong those “things of the World” which the Discipline of Quakerism endeavors to keep out of Quakerism by its prohibitions? Are they the material and spiritual handiwork of God, parts of the creation which He blesses for the sake of His SON? Or, are they the handiworks of our depraved free-wills, as separated from God?

ii. The *things prohibited* will declare. The Discipline says, that a Quaker must not see *Hamlet* or *Macbeth* performed; the people of the World go to plays. The Dis-

cipline says, that a Quaker must not dance ; it is a diversion of the people of the World. "As becometh *men professing godliness*," says the *Printed Epistle* of 1848, (how differently the Quakers of two centuries ago would have designated themselves!) "we are led out of a conformity to the varying fashions of the day, and restrained from the pursuits of Music and Dancing, from theatrical entertainments, and from vain sports, and from other frivolous and hurtful amusements of the World." Is the Church then, or is the Peculium in the Churches, a *not* dancing, *not* theatre-going, *not* music-hearing body? The Discipline says, that a Quaker must not kneel down to pray among persons of another Sect, nor among Churchmen. The Discipline says, that a Quaker must not marry out of the Quaker body. The Discipline says, that a Quaker must not wear black clothes as a sign of grief. The Discipline says, that a Quaker must not mark the grave of his wife, parents, child, or friend, with a gravestone. The Discipline says, that a Quaker must not call the first day of the week, Sunday ; or the first month of the year, January.

iii. Does not the prohibition of common prayer with other Christians, imply (as indeed the first Quakers preached and believed), that the members of the Sects and the Church are not Christians, but are in fact members of *the World*, from which, as the elect Church, the pillar and ground of the Truth, they, the Friends of JESUS, were called to separate themselves?* Does not the pro-

* Compare, in this very matter of prohibitions, George Fox's language about non-Quaker Christians : "You may see

hibition of marriage with non-Quakers imply the same? The wearing of black clothes, also, in sign of grief; the putting up of memorials over our dear ones dead; the ordinary naming of the days and months, are all *implied*, and sometimes asserted, by the Discipline of Quakerism, to be signs and notes of the *World*, of that passing-away body which is under the frown and condemnation of God.

iv. It might perhaps be contended, that the Discipline regards these marks or notes as *unfit*, or *inconvenient*, rather than as *sinful*. The Discipline itself does not, I think, allow any such interpretation; even if it did, the strong declarations of the primitive Quakers would convince us that the Spirit of Quakerism does not allow it. Thus, in regard to the prohibition of Music, the *Printed Epistle* of 1846 says, "Our attention has been turned to the increased exposure of our young Friends to the *temptations* of Music, which we believe to be, *both in its acquisition and in its practice, unfavorable to the health of the soul.*"

v. The question follows, Are these things prohibited *really* sinful? In the first place, very few, if any, modern Quakers believe that they are. In 1764, the Society was "hurt by hearing that [Quaker] booksellers have lent or

a book written by the *very Papists*, and another by Richard Baxter, the *Presbyterian*, against bare breasts and bare backs. *They*, that were *but in an outward profession*, did declare against such things; therefore they who are *in the possession* of truth and true Christianity should be ashamed of such things."—*Journal*, 1685. *A Warning against Pride and Excess in Apparel.*

sold novels, romances, plays, or other pernicious books:" it entreated its members "to avoid a practice so inconsistent with the purity of the Christian religion." Albeit, even if they are sinful, even though they are so prohibited, many Quakers indulge in them without any visitation from the Quaker Discipline. An educated Quaker, now-a-days, would be ashamed to have no opinion about Thackeray, Kingsley, or Dickens; about *In Memoriam*, or *The Idylls of the King*.

vi. But, granting that the things prohibited by the Quaker Discipline are prohibited *as sinful*, one cannot help seeing that they are prohibited as much, if not more, *as unquakerly*. Nor is this merely because of the old Quaker confounding of sin with non-Quakerism. The rules of most *modern* date assume Quakerism to be the *κρίνον* of right and wrong. They are full of appeals to the older Quakerism and Quakers. "Our ancient witness," the "testimony of the elders," "our religious principles," "the views which it is our duty and our privilege to hold;" these, and such expressions, appear in every section of the *Rules of Discipline*. The members of the Quaker Society are not forbidden by the Discipline to illuminate their windows in times of public rejoicing, because the Divine Discipliner of the Church restrains them inwardly by His SPIRIT from such an act; but they are forbidden that "they may maintain inviolably" (as the Discipline says in 1759, and reiterates in 1801, and again in 1833) "their ancient and Christian testimony in these respects."* Quakers are not prohibited by the Discipline

* *Rules of Discipline*, p. 172, § 2. [4to. London, 1834-1849.]

from "the observance of days set apart without a Divine direction" (that is, not through Quakers) because the Divine Discipliner convinces every such observer of the decrees of David, Constantine, S. Louis, or Elizabeth, of sin; but they are prohibited because it is "opposed" (as the Discipline says in 1833) "to those views of the spirituality of worship which it is our duty and privilege to hold."*

vii. Some Friends, then, at least, indulge in some things prohibited by the Quaker Discipline, and so, *implicitly*, are excommunicated by the Quaker Society. But they do not feel any sting on their conscience; they hear no whisper, no syllable of reproof, from the Disciplining WORD. They are not even *really* shut out from Quaker communion.

The truth is, their humanity condemns their Quakerism. These things prohibited by the Quaker Discipline are not only *not carnal*, not elements of the World as separated from GOD, not of lust and self-will; they *are human*. Music, romances, the drama, dancing, outward signs of mourning, memorials to the beloved dead; these all arise out of Man's original constitution, out of what S. Augustine calls our nature as made by GOD—*natura opificium DEI*; and not out of our nature as corrupted by free-will;—*vitium liberæ voluntatis*. Wherever *Man* is, these things are. Men and women singularly obedient to the illumination of CHRIST—men and women renewed in the whole spirit of their minds—have found occupation (not that

* *Rules of Discipline*, p. 173, § 4.

alone), have found even *vocation*, in the pursuits and things prohibited by Quakerism,—first as worldly, then as unquakerly. The first Friends often said that Moses, and David, and Jeremiah, and S. Paul, were Quakers. The three first were poets; David was a musician; S. Paul quotes Menander. S. Clement of Alexandria and S. Justin Martyr quote heathen poets and playwrights; therefore they must have been readers of them. And yet, of all the early Fathers, none exhibited in a more clear and vital method, or manifested in holier life, the principle of Fox, Hubberthorne, Parnell, Burroughs, and Howgill. A mighty host of redeemed artists, poets, romancists, musicians, play-writers, builders of monuments, bear witness for God and His order against the Discipline of Quakerism, which marks with the note of the World things which He, by the Incarnation of His Son, has marked with the seal of redemption, the sign of the Cross.

viii. I add, as a type of the other prohibitions of the Discipline, the ground of its prohibition of the Theatre. Of course some Quakers condemn it on the loose and general principle that *worldly* people support the Theatre and therefore *churchly*, that is, *quakerly* people ought not to support it. Others condemn it for its *accidents*; for the bad people who *may* attend it, or the bad morals which *may* be spoken in it. But others (and this is also the ground of the Quaker prohibition against calling the first day Monday, and the first month January) contend that as it was not founded by Christian men in Christian times, but by Heathen men in Heathen times, as it was not a product of the Christian Mind, therefore it cannot be

used by Christians. On the other hand, the Catholic Church says (as indeed, if she be Catholic, that is, universally human, *quod semper, quod ubique, quod ab omnibus*, she cannot avoid saying), 'The Theatre was a product of Heathen minds in Heathen ages. Heathens were *men*, made in the likeness of GOD, inspired in some measure, as S. Justin Martyr says, by CHRIST the WORD, of Whom the whole human race are partakers.* Therefore I accept it, christen it, use it.' Shakspeare and Wycherley are not included in one condemnation; a different measure is meted to Congreve and Lope de Vega. For the same reasons, also, we do not deny our Baptism, when we call the first day *Monday*, or the first month *January*.

ix. The Discipline of Quakerism fights against GOD by its prohibitions. The whole of life is, as Bishop Butler has said, a Discipline. The Discipline of the Church ought to be a shadow and image of the Discipline of Her Divine Head, the Disciplining WORD. All these things prohibited by the Quaker Discipline are *parts* of His Discipline. Until the Grace of GOD breaks in upon the conscience, by the Revelation of JESUS CHRIST, men are blind to their Divine Discipliner, even when they are receiving and profiting by His lessons and rules. But is

* He contends that all who live according to the Divine WORD (such as Socrates and Heraclitus amongst the Greeks, and Abraham, Ananias, Azarias, and Misaël, among the Barbarians), are in some sort Christians: while all who defy and disobey the WORD are unchristian.—*Apology*, cap. lxi. This is that grand and Catholic chapter which Daillé says he cannot understand.

He the less their Discipliner, are these the less *His* lessons and rules, because the noises of sin and lust deafen us, or any one, to His glorious voice, blind us, or any one, to His presence? No: *He*, by his Discipline, made Æschylus a play-writer, and Palestrina a musician, and Michael Angelo a painter, and Malebranche a priest; *He*, by his Discipline, *quod semper, quod ubique, quod ab omnibus est*, makes His human creatures express their grief for their lost ones by changed habits, and reverence their lost ones by memorials of stone, and wood, and brass: *He*, by His Discipline, leads Quakers to pray with non-Quakers for common ends, in the One SPIRIT—leads Quakers to unite with non-Quakers in the Holy mystery of Marriage. The Quaker Discipline prohibits these and other provisions of *His* Discipline; it does, therefore, fight against God.

x. Of *what acts* does the Quaker Discipline, as Penitential, require the man or woman who is “under dealing” to repent? Of acts against the Discipline of the Eternal WORD? of unchurchly acts—acts against that fellowship with GOD which is true Church fellowship? I think not. Of acts against the Quaker Discipline? of unquakerly acts? I think so.

Thus, the Discipline of Quakerism prohibits the marriage of Quakers with non-Quakers. When such a marriage has taken place, the Discipline requires it to be *repented of*, in accordance with the delusion of the first Quakers, that Quakerism was to be the Society of redeemed men and women, and non-Quakerism the Society of reprobate men and women. But Marriage, when it

fulfils its *Idea*, is a Sacrament of the union between CHRIST and His Church. It is an outward and visible type of His self-sacrificing love for her, of her devotion and passion for Him. It is the seal of that love of two persons for one another, which neither of them ever *has* had, or ever *can* have, for any one else at all. There is the Divine root and reason for their wedding ; it is a part of the Order of God that these two should be one. Such a marriage cannot have its ground in the depraved and worldly self-will which fights against the Order of God, and puts itself under the sharp knife of His Discipline. Do not these penitential provisions of the Quaker Discipline fight, therefore, against God's Fatherly Order and Discipline, when they call upon that Quaker or Quakeress to assume, in reality or pretence, the position of a penitent, who has at the same time the answer of his or her nature and conscience that there is nothing really to repent of, that the marriage is really Holy Matrimony, is blessed by the Priestly Benediction of JESUS ?

CHAPTER IV.

- i. The Quakers carry to the extreme the Puritan Hatred of Tradition—Puritanism too Traditional.
- ii. Quaker attempt to cut away Tradition at the Root.
- iii. Quakerism Traditionalized, especially by the Discipline.
- iv. Vindication of the Catholic Church in Quaker Discipline, when defending itself.
- v. The Living WORD the Rule of earlier Quaker Discipline; the "Written Words" of later Quaker Discipline.
- vi. Traditionalism and Death—Reverence for the Past and Life Traditionalism of the Sects.
- vii. Early Quakerism insulted the Past.
- viii. Modern Quakerism idolizes the Past—Mere Preservative Aim of the Discipline.
- ix. Relaxation of the Discipline useless.
- x. Tightening of the Discipline useless.

i. QUAKERISM, as the last term of Puritanism, exhibited in the extreme the Puritan hatred of Tradition. The Quakers made this complaint against the Puritans proper—that they had never hated Tradition enough. Even when they were fighting against the apostate and behind-looking spirits of "Popery and Prelacy," they seemed still to be *looking behind*. What was their weapon in that warfare? The Bible. The Quakers would address them in some such strong and dangerous language as

this: 'Your faith stands in a CHRIST who *lived* at Jerusalem sixteen hundred and fifty years ago, rather than in a CHRIST *now living*, now throwing His Light into your dark hearts and consciences. Why are you so anxious to obey the words of the HOLY SPIRIT spoken to David, Paul, and John? Obey the words rather which the same SPIRIT is even now speaking to your own very selves?'

ii. When they reached this point, the Quakers undoubtedly fancied that they had enunciated something which cut away Tradition at the very root. But the Puritans, the wisest of whom were obtuse and one-notioned men, instead of recognizing this development of their own theories, turned round and accused the Quakers of dishonoring the Scriptures. Nothing could be more untrue. Few studied the Scriptures so deeply and reverently. They did not dishonor them, they only honored the SPIRIT *more*. Again and again they asked, 'If the Holy Scriptures did not bear witness to a SPIRIT above themselves?' They professed to stand in the same power, authority, and SPIRIT, as the writers who gave forth the Scriptures. The ministers of GOD, they said, call the Scriptures—writings, treatises, and declarations; and call the Eternal SON of GOD—The WORD. "Do not you rob CHRIST of His title, and of His honor, and give it unto the Letter, and show yourselves out of the doctrine of the ministers of God?"* Two hundred years, however, have passed

* George Fox. *Answer to the Exeter General Warrant for apprehending all Friends*, 1656. Also, Richard Farnsworth's *Confession and Profession of Faith in God, by His People, who are in scorn called Quakers: Showing that the People of God are no Vaga-*

by, since these words were written. And these, who *were* witnesses against Tradition *are* the most traditional of all existing Sects.

iii. In the traditionalizing of Quakerism, the Quaker Discipline has been a mighty, if not the mightiest, agent. I have already shown that the very establishment of a Discipline was, and was perceived to be by some of the Quakers, a traditionalizing movement. But, at first, though it corrected and restrained certain *individual developments* of the Quaker faith in a living and present Inspirer, it did not depress the Quaker faith that He was the direct source of authority and order in *the Church*, that is, in the Quaker Society. "Our monthly and quarterly meetings." says the *Book of Discipline*, in 1703, "being set up by the Power and in the Wisdom of God, Which is the authority of all those meetings, all Friends are tenderly desired and advised carefully to keep to and in that authority."* Again, "It is our judgment and testimony that the rise and practice, setting up and establishment of men's and women's meetings, in the Church of CHRIST in this generation, is according to the mind and counsel of GOD, and done *in the ordering and leading of His Eternal SPIRIT.*"†

bonds, nor idle, dissolute Persons, nor Jesuits. [4to., London, 1658.] "The Holy Scriptures are the Words of God," is reiterated throughout this pamphlet of fourteen pages.

* *Rules of Discipline*, p. 112, § 3. [4to., London, 1834-1849.]

† Ibid. p. 111, § 1. George Fox asserts the possession of an Apostolic, or Patriarchal, power in this matter: "*The LORD opened to me what I must do, and how the men's and women's monthly and quarterly meetings should be ordered and estab-*

iv. In passages such as these, the Catholic Church is again justified and vindicated by the mouth of the proudest and most extreme Schism. She was not, then, denying the authority of the Holy Scriptures—she was not setting herself against the witness and direction of the SPIRIT in individual believers, when she asserted her faith that CHRIST by His SPIRIT was with her, giving her authority to bind and loose, to shut and open, even unto the end of the world. The Rules of Discipline are the *Canons*, the Yearly Meeting is the *Œcumenical Council*, of the Quaker Church.

v. In the two extracts just given, the *Living Word* and SPIRIT is asserted as the authority of the Quaker Discipline, the Lawgiver of the Quaker Church. No reference whatsoever is made to the Holy Scriptures, the *written Words* of God. The ground taken by the Quakers against the three Puritan Sects (Presbyterianism, Independency, and Anabaptism), and the preservation of their original witness against every shape of Tradition, made this abstinence both natural and necessary. But, a century and a half later, the Divine authority of the Quaker Discipline was expressed in a very modified and temperate way: "We have been much impressed," says the *Printed Epistle* of 1833, "with the value and importance

lished in this and other nations."—*Journal*, 1666. Again, "Some who made a profession of the same truth with us, being gone from the simplicity of the Gospel into a fleshly liberty, and laboring to draw others after them, did oppose the Order and Discipline, which God by His power had set up and established in His Church.—*Journal*, 1678.

of our Christian Discipline: we believe that our *forefathers* in the Truth *were graciously favored with Divine aid* in its establishment, and that it is *in accordance with the simple principles of Church government developed in the New Testament.*"*

Thus Quakerism, too, is found *looking back*. As a whole, the Rules of the Discipline are aggressively traditional. The date, indeed, of its earliest Rule is no earlier than 1670; while there are very few earlier than 1700. The real rule-givers have been the men of the Middle Age, and the men of the Latter Age of Quakerism. For, by 1670, the traditional temper had set in with great strength, and it has continued ever since. As I have said before, *not* "to obey our Immediate and Divine Discipliner," *but* "to maintain inviolably our ancient and Christian testimony" is the motive in all the Rules. Thus, Quaker Discipline is Traditional in regard to itself, as well as in regard to the New Testament. The Divine WORD has spoken *no new law* in the Quaker Discipline, ever since the Discipline began. This has struck, with great concern, the rationalistic minds of a body of Quaker schismatics in America, who have put forth a declaration of their present leading as "*Progressive Friends*."

vi. The disease of Traditionalism must not be confounded with the healthy state of Reverence for the Past. We truly reverence the Past when we remember that is one with our own time, in Eternity; that we have no more *done with* the Past, no more lost the Past, than the apple to which this morning's sun has given its ripening

* *Rules of Discipline*, p. 120, § 24.

streaks of crimson and gold has done with the root, and trunk, and branches upon which it grows, and has been growing, with a hundred other apples. Traditionalism connects the Past with a vain regret, and vainer *imitation*; but Reverence connects it with its own present and organic *life*. This is the difference between the partial Sects of different ages and the Holy Catholic Church. The Sects *look back* at the primitive age, and say, in confused disagreement, 'The Church of CHRIST *was* Presbyterian, or *was* Independent, or *was* Anabaptist, or *was* Quakerly, or *was* (something like ?) Wesleyan Methodist, or *was* some other *ist*. We must restore, imitate, that primitive *ist*, and then we *shall have* the primitive Church again.' But the Church says, 'The primitive Church *was* Episcopalian?' No; she says far more than that—'*I have*,' she says, 'the Apostolical Succession.' The LORD said to the first rulers of the Church—Bishops over both the teachers and the taught—'Lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world.' 'I,' she says, 'bear witness that He has never left *me*. Whatever my corruptions, whatever my weakness, whatever my mistakes, I have never had to *look back* for true Sacraments, for a true Ministry, for the Eternal WORD of Life and Grace: I have always *looked within*.'*

* I have mentioned Wesleyan Methodism in this section more as a *Schism* set up on Wesley's death, than as a *Movement* conducted by him during his life. It is but just to give his own words. A Mr. Hall had written to him and his brother, urging them to "renounce the Church of England." This is part of his answer:—"We believe it would not be right

vii. Early Quakerism *insulted* the Past. In their ignorance of Church history and biography, George Fox and his fellows handed over to the Devil the whole of CHRIST'S Kingdom between the death of the Apostles and the Reformation, and nearly as much from the Reformation to the preaching of Fox. "I was trained up," says James Parnell, the Quaker protomartyr, "in the customary way of the worship *of the World*, which is held in the *Idol's Temple*, every first day of the week."* "It is not enough," says Isaac Penington the younger, "to rent from Popery, and to sit down under the power and government of the *same spirit* in another form; or to rent from Episcopacy, and the same spirit sit down in Presbytery; or to rent from Presbytery, and the same spirit sit down in a form of Independency or Anabaptism; or to rent from these, and the same spirit sit down in a

for us to administer either Baptism or the Lord's Supper, unless we had a commission so to do from those Bishops whom we apprehend to be in a succession from the Apostles. And yet we allow these Bishops are the successors of those who were dependent on the Bishop of Rome. We believe there is, and always was, in every Christian Church (whether dependent on the Bishop of Rome or not) an outward Priesthood ordained by JESUS CHRIST, and an outward Sacrifice offered therein."—*Rev. John Wesley's Journal*, No. vi. December 27, 1745.

* *The Fruits of a Fast appointed by the Churches gathered against CHRIST and His Kingdom* (i. e. Quakerism), p. 1. [4to., London, 1665.] On page 6, he says that the Independents are his greatest persecutors.

way of Seeking and Waiting, and reading of words of Scripture, and gathering things from thence without the life." *

viii. Modern Quakerism overpraises and idolizes the Past,—*its own Past*. And the aim of this Traditionalism, as it appears in the Quaker Discipline, is merely negative—to preserve occupied ground, not to conquer new. Thus, in 1808, the Discipline apologizes for the traditional usages in speech and dress: "We know by experience that they are often the means of defence against temptations to mingle in the company of such as are unsuitable examples for *our* youth to observe and to follow." † The Rules of Discipline are substituted, not for the Bible, but for the Divine Light and SPIRIT. Ought not (on the old Quaker principle) the Indwelling SPIRIT to preserve us from temptations and unsuitable examples? Ought not unworldly speech and dress (so called) to be adopted from an inward disaffection to the World, and not be thrust upon us from without? Can it be any thing more than a hurtful *imitation* of unworldliness?

ix. But these parts of the Discipline have been given up by many Friends; the giving up has been authoritatively pronounced a *venial*, not a *mortal*, unquakerliness, by the Society. Clarkson, in the beginning of the century, perceived that if the Discipline of Quakerism "were

* *The Axe laid to the Root of the Tree*, pp. 20, 21. [4to., London, 1659.]

† *Rules of Discipline*, p. 198, § 22.

undermined, the whole building would fall.”* “The relaxation of a discipline,” says Dr. Schaff, in his *History of the Apostolic Church*, “is always a suspicious symptom.” The Discipline, as I said in the commencement of this Book, is the girdle which has held Quakerism together: the universal provisions under the head of “Oversight” peer *everywhere*, see *every one*, watch *everything*.† The “Oversight” of the Quaker Discipline has been a firm, but, on the whole, kindly, ecclesiastical Argus, and has had the power of an ecclesiastical Briareus. To relax such an Oversight would not only be picking out ninety-nine of its hundred eyes, but also lopping or unnerving as many of its hundred arms. How could this increase its discernment? How add to its strength?

x. But, if relaxing the hold of the traditional singularities of the Quaker Discipline upon Quakers, will not save the Quaker Society, neither will *tightening* them

* *Portraiture of Quakerism*, book ii. c. i. § 1.

† *Rules of Discipline*, p. 184, &c. (§ 7.) Young men coming to London without profession or employment. (§ 8.) Seafaring Quakers. (§ 9.) Duty of oversight over each other. *P. E.*, 1827. (§ 10.) Disputes to be settled early. (§ 12.) Lists of members to be read over once every year. (§ 19.) Quakers in straitened circumstances to be sought out; to be assisted to educate their children in a “suitable and guarded way:” for “they may be exposed to mix with others not of our religious persuasion.” Members, too (§ 7), are to be preferred as apprentices, servants, assistants: “A preference which seems to form an essential part of the care which we owe to our religious body.”

save it. The very conjecture of a relaxation proves that they are thought *too tight*—that any additional stringency would be accounted an *overstraining*—would lead, most likely, to an immediate schism.*

* A pamphlet, entitled *An Address to the Society of Friends, on their excommunicating such of their Members as Marry those of other religious Professions* [London, 1808], points out the decline of the Society in Scotland and Wales, “in consequence of the increase of Church power and inquisitorial authority.”

BOOK IV.

QUAKER CONDUCT.

CHAPTER I.

THE PRINCIPLE OF EARLY QUAKER CONDUCT.

- i. Question of this Book stated—The Motive Principle of early Quaker Conduct.
- ii. Motives of Conduct, many.
- iii. Resolution of many into one—The Inspiring Will of God.
- iv. This Inspiration the Ideal Motive of early Quaker Conduct: Doctrinally, Practically.
- v. This Principle not Quakerly, as such—The Catholic Principle.
- vi. This Principle a Source of Strength to Quakerism, as such.
- vii. Quakerism appeals to the Church for the Confirmation of this Principle.
- viii. Relation of this Principle to the Decay of Quakerism, as such.

i. I PROPOSE in this Book to inquire, Whether Quaker Conduct throws any light on the causes of Quaker Decay? in other words, Have Quakers degenerated? Is the ordinary life of Quakers and Quakeresses in the nineteenth

century quickened by the same *principle* as the ordinary life of Quakers and Quakeresses in the seventeenth century? Does this principle produce the same *acts*? Is it present in the same *intensity*? Does it offer the same *signs and evidences* of its presence and power? I shall have to compare, then, past and present Quaker principle, past and present Quaker acts, past and present Quaker intensity, past and present Quaker signs.

ii. But if I speak merely of *the* motive principle of the acts of any man or society of men—if I speak of *the* ground from which they began to do and to endure—I shall travel far wrong. Only those saints upon whose spirits GOD has wrought His perfect work, and whom He is just about to take to Himself, can declare from their hearts that all motives except the one ultimate and fontal motive are dead in them. All men do and endure from *mixed* motives. But every true and holy act or endurance proceeds, consciously or unconsciously, from the Inspiring Will of GOD. Our good works are not ours, nor from us, but from Him working in us to will and to do of His good pleasure. Christian perfection; the growth into CHRIST's spiritual stature; the full and utter *Re-creation* after the image of the Heavenly Man; the being perfect, as our LORD says, even as our FATHER in Heaven is perfect;—what but GOD *dwelling and acting in us* can bring us to this state—a state in which the Will of GOD is the one only motive and principle of conduct, the ground from which every act and endurance consciously proceeds?

iii. All the motives which are broken, particular, iso-

lated, in other men and women, are reattached, and centralized, and intensified by returning to their place as *parts*, in the Saint. The love of wife, or husband, or children; the painting of a picture, the giving of alms, the writing of a book, the singing in a choir, the visiting of the sick, the cup of cold water in CHRIST's name, the very sweeping of a doorway, are *felt* by the Saint to proceed from the very indwelling of the Will of GOD, that Centre from which *nothing except sin* is really separated. All the graces, relationships, powers, functions, and tempers, which were "natural," become spiritual—not by alteration, least of all by disorderly mortification, but—by carrying them up to their first Spring and Source; that is, to the Bosom of Him in Whom we live and move and have our being.*

iv. This principle, then, was the *ideal* principle of early Quaker conduct. The true and holy men among them were led by, listened and waited for, the moving of their

* "One can spin, another can make shoes, and some have great aptness for all sorts of outward arts, so that they can earn a great deal, while others are altogether without this quickness. These are all *gifts proceeding from the SPIRIT of God*. If I were not a Priest, but were living as a layman, I should take it as a great favor that I knew how to make shoes, and should try to make them better than any one else." Again, "Some have sweet voices: let them sing in the churches, for *this also comes from the SPIRIT of God*." "There is no work so small, nor art so mean, but it all comes from God, and is a *special gift of His*."—Tauler's *Sermon for the Tenth Sunday after Trinity: on 1 Corinth. xii. 16. Life and Sermons*, pp. 354, 355. [4to., London, 1857.]

wills, to this action, or from that action, by the HOLY GHOST. The more sectarian Quakers, whether led by it or not, appealed to the truth and fitness and necessity of such an inspiration, as the only efficient motive of Christian conduct, of the acts and sufferings of CHRIST's elect. In doctrine and in practice, the Quaker Society set *this* forth—that to act in CHRIST's manner, the SPIRIT of CHRIST Himself must inwardly move and press us to all our deeds.

v. But when this principle of conduct is undressed, so to speak, from its Quaker, Foxite, and Seventeenth-secular garments, and shown in its original, undisguised, and naked shape, we shall see that it had been the Catholic doctrine of the conduct of baptized people for sixteen hundred and fifty years before Fox was born. Fox, indeed, and his followers, qualified it with uncatholic and fanatical limitations, as I shall hereafter show. But the Universal Church had believed, each man clothing the truth in his own fashion, from Saint James to William Laud (who attempted to dedicate, Music, Art, Learning, and even Sports, to GOD and His Church), that every good and perfect gift, whether among *charites* or *charismata*, whether a state of holy feeling or a faculty of doing, whether called natural or spiritual, came down from the FATHER of Lights.* And, putting aside George Fox and the early Quakers, to what body of men shall I turn to find this truth *asserted* as the only true principle and motive of Christian conduct? I will say at once to whom I should not turn: I should not turn to modern Quakers.

* S. James, i. 17; S. John, iii. 27.

Undoubtedly I should turn to S. Clement of Alexandria, to S. Augustine, to Tauler, to Fenelon, to Malebranche, to William Law; and these (to whom I might add many more) were Catholic *Priests*. They bore that name which George Fox and his fellows accounted the very type of Apostasy and of fall from the immediate inspiration of GOD. They were constantly engaged in all those acts which George Fox and his fellows took for signs of the absence of GOD the Inspirer; they were, what the Quakers believed to be, thaumaturgists, players with types and images; head-bowers and knee-benders; wranglers about clothes, about stone-and-mortar buildings, about water-sprinklings; mere dealers in the unreligious husks and shells of religion.

vi. If, then, the most churchly of Churchmen, men who valued the idea of a Priesthood, and their name *Priest*, were the clearest asserters of the Quaker principle of conduct, how are we to explain the disconnection of George Fox and his fellows from the Church: surely it should have seemed their fittest home? I can but explain it by causes I have already dwelt upon, and by the heretical elements which they mingled with this primary truth. These I reserve for the remaining chapters of this book. But I will state two or three plain reasons why the first Quakers, holding a principle so Catholic, yet felt no attraction towards the Universal Church. The sin of the Church was one cause. She forgot in Whom she believed. As the Apostles, whom the LORD made her princes in all lands, could not at the foot of the Mount of Transfiguration cast out the devil from the epileptic

boy, so she could not cast out the devils of the seventeenth century, because, like them, she forgot the power with which her LORD endued her so long as she thought nothing of herself; like them, she dwelt upon *her* privileges, *her* throne of future power, indulging the thoughts which murder true power; like them, she was jealous when she saw *others* casting out devils in the Name of JESUS. Secondly, it must be remembered that Puritanism and not Churchliness, a many-sided Sectarianism and not Catholicity, was the very temper of the Seculum in which Quakerism arose. The Church was under a parliamentary ban. Thirdly, George Fox and his fellows (with the exception of Ellwood, Barclay, and a few others) were profoundly ignorant of the history of the Church and the Sects in prior ages. The conduct of the Quakers, so far as it was under the inspiration of CHRIST'S SPIRIT, was a cause of growth to Quakerism, *as such*, because it was a principle England then needed and must have; a privilege witnessed to in the Liturgy of the crushed and hidden Church, but not witnessed to in the formulas of the dominant Sects. It pleased GOD to make it known and heard through the preaching of the Quakers.

vii. In the year 1700, forty years after the re-appearance of the Liturgy and Holy Orders, the excellent Ann Docwra, most orthodox as a Friend, thus writes:—"Revelation, or Inspiration,* proceeds from one Fountain, and is really Divine, although some of the learned have used their endeavors to debase Inspiration. But let us see what the Church of England says in this case in her Common

* Two quite different things.

Prayers. First, in the collect for the Communion, they pray, '*that God would cleanse their hearts by the Inspiration of His HOLY SPIRIT.*' I really believe that the hearts of all men cannot be cleansed by any other means but the Inspiration of the HOLY SPIRIT of GOD. And, further, in the collect for the First Sunday after Easter, they pray for '*the Inspiration of the HOLY SPIRIT, that we may think those things that be good, and by God's merciful guidance may perform the same.*' This, I am sure, cannot be done but by the Inspiration of the ALMIGHTY. And in divers other collects they pray for this Light and Grace of GOD also. Certainly these men that writ the Liturgy of the Church of England did believe that the Light, Grace, and Inspiration of the ALMIGHTY was sufficient to illuminate, inspire, and teach all Mankind, or they would not have inserted it so plainly as they have done. It were a work unprofitable to pray for that which is not attainable."*

viii. Hence, too, I think it becomes predicable that Quakerism *would* decay, even when looked upon only from this side of primitive Quaker conduct. Its strength lay in the comparative absence of the same faith in any other body at the time of its rise; in the then unsatisfied thirst which it sprang forth to quench—and quenched. Men and women who felt strongly that the immediate and real Inspiration of the SPIRIT was the only principle of any good thought or work, not finding that principle asserted, or not duly asserted, in the Society with which they com-

* *A Treatise concerning Enthusiasm, or Inspiration of the HOLY SPIRIT*, pp. 42, 43. [12mo., London, 1750.]

muned, would go naturally and easily, in those years of wild change and transition, into any society which asserted its belief in that principle as one of the notes distinguishing it from the world of other sects.

But, when the principle returned to its true and eternal building, the Church then—that mere tabernacle to which it fled for temporary shelter and life—being again emptied, would gradually decay, or be taken to pieces for other uses, or be blown away in the successive storms of the ecclesiastical universe. *Individual* Quakers may still make a kind of passive resting in, and waiting for, the Inspiration of the SPIRIT the ground of their temper, the principle of their conduct. But the Bible, Church history, Christian life, is sure at last to teach most of these, that even that waiting for the Divine Light, that leading by the Light, that becoming, as it were, unto CHRIST what a man's hand is unto himself, is not necessarily connected with a *Quakerly doctrine and conduct*, does not lead irresistibly into the *Quaker Communion*.

NOTE ON SECTION VI.—Compare the reason given by Dr. Pusey for the religions of the Eighteenth Century being unchurchly and schismatic, even while religious. “It was the fault,” he says, “of the Church, in the last century, or rather of those who had the mastery over the Church, that her Ministers, by preaching her doctrines coldly and negatively, gave occasion to many whose spirit God had stirred, to seek instruction rather in the writings of those not of her Communion—the old Nonconformists—than within herself.”—*Letter to the Bishop of Oxford*, p. 119. [8vo., Oxford, 1839.]

CHAPTER II.

ENTHUSIASM OF EARLY QUAKER CONDUCT.

- i. Quakers' View of the Motive of their Conduct.
- ii. View of Non-Quakers—Mixed Motives.
- iii. Enthusiasm an Imagination of Inspiration.
- iv. Three kinds of Enthusiasm—The Entheus.
- v. Pure Enthusiasm.
- vi. Malignant Enthusiasm.
- vii. Mixed Enthusiasm.
- viii. Quaker Enthusiasm mainly of the Mixed kind—Presence of the HOLY GHOST claimed distinctively by Quakers.
- ix. Enthusiasm values the Extraordinary above the Ordinary Witness of His Presence.
- x. Quaker Enthusiasm did so.
- xi. Short Life of Enthusiasms.
- xii. Prophecies of Quaker Decay during its success.

i. It was the primitive Quakers themselves who said that a Divine Inspiration was the moving source of all their Quaker purposes and acts. Some of them, indeed, could say it as a Christian experience. Others contended for it theoretically; they put it forward as a view of doctrine distinguishing themselves, the children of Light,

from all other men—from the children of Darkness, the religious and irreligious World.

ii. Their opponents, however, perceived in them certain *mixed motives* which they themselves did not see. The most wonderful actions, the most spiritual signs, may be mere appearances—may proceed from the *imagination* of an Inspiration, and not from the Inspiring WORD Himself. And, yet, neither the beholders nor the doers of such actions and signs may be aware that they are agents and witnesses of a delusion. “James Milner and Richard Myer,” says George Fox, in his *Journal*, “went out into imaginations.”* In the same manner, also, the more prudent of his fellows always explained the aberrations of those schismatics who were continually troubling the early peace of the Quaker Church, by their fancied and fantastic inspirations. They did not deny that these men had ever had the SPIRIT; they said that they had, and had been led by Him, and had “made conscience of their ways.”† But either they had, at some time or other *resisted* His guidance, and so been left to their own guidance; or else they had *valued themselves* on account of it, and so had lost it through pride. The fathers of Quakerism always preached humility, and the necessity of

* *Journal*. 1653.

† Richard Farnsworth. *The Ranters’ Principles and Deceits discovered, and declared against, denied and disowned, by us whom the World calls Quakers*, pp. 2, 3. [London, 4to., 1654.] Also, G. Fox’s *Journal*. “Many of them were reached and convinced, and received the SPIRIT of God, and are come to be a pretty people, living and walking soberly in the truth of CHRIST.”—Pages 109, 129, 232, &c. [Fol. ed. 1694.]

"keeping low," to those new and fantastical disciples who, having joined the Quaker Church in awe and hope at its boasted regain of the primitive *charismata*, immediately lusted to exercise their new spiritual gifts. But it must not be hidden that George Fox himself, and his more sober followers, were none of them free from "going out into imaginations," but singularly given to so doing.

iii. A phantasmal Inspiration, an imagination of a Divine Entheus, is characteristic of those men and sects which have been called in all times *enthusiastic*. The spiritual signs and wonders exhibited by the first Quakers had personal enthusiasm as their motive and principle. The enthusiastic temper in religion was more prevalent in England during the age of Quakerism than in any previous or later age of our history. The bitter quarrels between the Presbyterians and the army, left the military without any preachers except the Independents. As they were contending with the Presbyterians for a general toleration, for their own sake, they could hardly resist the "rights of conscience" in others. Besides, they were too few in number to become army chaplains. Hence the officers, and the "gifted brethren" preached to the soldiers; and they forced themselves, too, into the parish pulpits of such towns or villages as chanced to be near them. "Learning, good sense, and the rational interpretation of Scripture," says the Puritan Neal, "began to be cried down, and every bold pretender to Inspiration was preferred to the most grave and sober divines of the age.*

* The "most grave and sober divines of the age," Jeremy Taylor, Bishop Sanderson, Herbert Thorndike, Dr. Henry

Some advanced themselves into the rank of prophets, and others uttered all such crude and undigested absurdities as came first into their minds, calling them the dictates of the SPIRIT within them.”* Edwards, Pagitt, Featly, and Walker, give catalogues of the sectaries.† But many of the errors they set forth were never organized into distinct societies. Many of those called *Seekers*, *Ranters*, *Perfectionists*, *Anti-scripturists*, *Enthusiasts*, and even *Behmenists*,‡ may have passed easily into Quakerism, absorbing, as it did, the extreme development of all the leading tendencies of that Seculum. All Schisms are enthusiastic in their early days; and nearly all, partly as the result, and partly as the justification for their schism, put forward their possession of the *charismata* which belonged *de facto* to the primitive Church—and do still belong, I suppose, *in posse* and *de jure*, to the Catholic Church—as the principle which distinguishes their conduct from that Hammond, &c., were not permitted, or only *permitted*, to be heard.

* *History of the Puritans*, vol. ii. p. 421. [London, 8vo., 1837.]

† Dr. Thomas Price, in his *History of Protestant Nonconformity*, contends that these catalogues of lesser sects are “ridiculous productions of party zeal.”—Vol. ii. p. 508. But no one will think so who has spent some months, as I have, over the immense collection of Tracts of that period, given by George III. to the British Museum. Every sect, even Quakerism, had *its sects*.

‡ I do not think it has ever been noticed that *Giles Calvert*, the publisher of the first Quaker Tracts, was also publisher of the English translations of Behmen. Some early passages of Fox's *Journal* are singularly Behmenistic.

of the Apostate Churches, Sects, and the World. From the Montanists to the Mormonites it has been so: the singular gift of the HOLY GHOST is offered as the key to the broad and strange difference between their own common daily conduct, and that of the rest of men. Enthusiasm was the form under which the best theologians of the age contemplated Quakerism. When Charles Leslie entered upon the Quaker controversy, nearly half a century of conflict and change had wrought the Schism into a compact, set, and definite institution. "Quakerism," he says, "is but one branch of Enthusiasm, though the most spread and infectious of any now known in this part of the world."* Of Enthusiasm in the ordinary sense, however, there was little in that cold age when William the Third was King, and Burnet a Bishop. When the pseudo-liberal writers of that dark time speak of *Enthusiasts*, as they so contemptuously do, they mean high-minded non-jurors, like the holy Bishop Ken, or like Leslie himself.

iv. Spiritual words are often brought so low as to mean the corruption of, or the substitution for, the things implied in their derivation; and not the things themselves. Thus, Enthusiasm, which in the pure sense can only mean the state of *Entheus* (ἐν and θεός), the state of being, living, and having every motive in God, has come to mean, in the conventional sense, the state in which men *apparently* are, live, and have every motive in God; but are *essentially* living and moving from a spiritual self-delusion and lie.

* *Snake in the Grass*. [Works, vol. iv. p. 3, Oxford ed.]

The mystical writers who have anatomized Enthusiasm, loth to give up so pure a word to impure uses, divide Enthusiasm into kinds. The well-known Thomas Hartley, author of *The Sabbath of Rest*, and formerly parish priest of Winwick, in Northamptonshire, the friend of William Law, and English editor of Swedenborg, distinguishes *three kinds* of Enthusiasm—the Pure, the Malignant, and the Mixed.

v. *Pure Enthusiasm* is that condition of actual and perfecting enlightenment, by the indwelling and moving of the SPIRIT of GOD, of which I have spoken (in the first chapter of this Book) as the ideal motive and principle of Quaker conduct. It has been, I also said, the Catholic principle of Christian conduct every where and at all times. The Prophet Joel foretold it as the characteristic of the coming Kingdom of GOD. Mr. Hartley, however, seems to make this Enthusiasm dependent more on the consciousness of an Inspiration, than on a real Inspiration itself. He speaks of its short duration, and of the sharp and biting trials which follow it.

vi. *Malignant Enthusiasm* is that kind which we call Fanaticism; the motive principle of Inquisitors; of the English attempters at a “godly thorough Reformation;” of the early Anabaptists; of the Familists, Muggletonians, and Fifth Monarchy men.

vii. Of *Mixed Enthusiasm* I have been speaking throughout this chapter. It is that state of the Christian life in which the Inspiration of CHRIST’S SPIRIT is present indeed, but mixed with much infirmity of the unmortified Adam’s nature, and viewed through the prejudices and

deceptions of education, of unsubdued evil habits, and of uncorrected wrong theories. This it is which historians and theologians ordinarily mean when they speak of Enthusiasm.*

viii. All the early acts and writings of the Quakers bring evidence to the predominating power which this Enthusiasm had over their daily conduct. The tracts of Fox, Naylor, Burroughs, Parnell, Farnsworth, Howgill, and all the *ante*-Barelay and Penn Quakers, are "given forth in the Name of the LORD." The reader is urged and entreated to accept them as "GOD'S *words*," and threatened if he does not. So that no mistake may be made, one and all take pains to show that they are of the same authority as the Bible. Not because they accord with the Bible, nor because they reproduce it; but because they are "given forth from the same SPIRIT Who spake GOD'S Words" through Moses, David, Isaiah, and Saint John. On the decay of the epoch of Enthusiasm, and the introduction of the scholastic epoch of Barelay, Keith, and Penn, these enthusiastic views were immediately modified. Baxter gives this as one of his reasons for suspecting that Popery was at work underneath Quakerism, "their disgracing and secret undermining of the sufficiency of Scripture," and "their asserting of the necessity of a Judge of controversy above Scripture." †

* See Thomas Hartley. *A Discourse on Mistakes concerning Religious Enthusiasm, Experiences, &c.*, pp. 34, 35, 46, 47. [German town reprint, 8vo., 1759.]

† *The Quakers' Catechism; or, the Quakers questioned, their Questions answered, and both published.* [London, 4to., 1655.] Third Preface.

“I do believe the Scriptures,” says Robert West, and then he proceeds to tell his Puritan antagonist that he “is moved to put to him these queries :—Whether Abel’s, Noah’s, and Abraham’s rule of life and conduct was the Scriptures, seeing there was none, as I know? Whether there be any other rule of life and ground of faith for Christians now? If not, whether their rule of faith and ground of life was not *before* the Scriptures, yea, or nay? Whether the Apostles’ rule of life and ground of faith, when they were sent forth to preach, was visible or invisible—things ready to their hand, or other men’s lives?”*

iv. Such Enthusiasts may be real possessors of the Divine Inspiration, but they mistake the purpose, measure, and spheres of that awful Presence. It is their custom to account the extraordinary gifts of the SPIRIT a more sure confirmation of their doctrine than the ordinary. Unconsciously, perhaps, but really, they make Balaam a man more full of God than His own quiet Saints. All their conduct tends to exalt those accidental, temporary,

* *Questions propounded by the Natural Man, and answered by the Spiritual Man*, p. 10. [London, 4to., 1657.] See also, *The Word of the LORD which John Cam and Francis Howgill was moved to declare and write to Oliver Cromwell, who is named Lord Protector*. F. Howgill’s begins in this manner :—“The word of the LORD came unto me the thirty-first day of the first month, about the ninth hour, as I was waiting upon the LORD in James’s Park, London.”—P. 8. [4to., 1654.] “As I lay in bed at Bristol, the word of the LORD came unto me, that I must go back to London.”—George Fox, *Journal*, 1667, p. 315. [Fol. ed. 1694.]

and special graces, with which the Divine WORD sometimes endues men in great historical crises, above those necessary and eternal graces, without which a man cannot be a Christian at all; the *gratiæ gratis* (and even *ingratis*) *data*, above the *gratiæ gratum facientes*; the gifts and powers which separate them from their brethren, above those which teach them their unity with them—above the Baptism which speaks of a common childhood unto God—above the Holy Communion in which they partake of a common Body and Blood from the One SAVIOUR; their special Priesthood above their common Sonship.

x. And what is here predicated of the *genus* belongs to the *species*. The English Enthusiasts of the Seventeenth Century, called Quakers, made their possession of the SPIRIT the distinguishing mark between their conduct,—as the Peculium, and that of all other people,—as the World. And, as the sign and evidence of that possession, they did not point to their victorious faith, their charity, or self-sacrifice, so much as to their power over devils, their gifts of healing, their divine messages, and their utter rejection of all sacramental media between the HOLY SPIRIT and their spirits. I have no doubt that their firm faith in CHRIST, the Light and Inspirer of every human being, was the *chief* reason of their wonderful successes. But I believe, too, that their fancy of a Divine Inspiration toward definite lines of conduct, which are a mighty hindrance to the Kingdom of God, was *also* a help to the success of the Society of George Fox; for these satisfied the diseased longings of that enthusiastic and fanatical Seculum.

xi. The short life of Enthusiasms is one of the recognized certainties of ecclesiastical history. "Enthusiasm may be very pleasing for a time," says Henry Dodwell, "but I never remember it to have lasted above a generation."* It seems to be communicable from fellow to fellow, but not from parent to child. The success of Quakerism, so far as it was dependent upon Quaker *conduct*, may be partly accounted for by the Enthusiasm of its first preachers. But, in that hour of success, by the very nature of that success, every one who could discern the signs of the Kingdom of God, predicated decay.

Albeit, this decay was not quite so utter, nor quite so near, as these predictors expected. Quakerism was not to pass out of the spiritual firmament with the meteorlike rapidity of those Enthusiasms which arose just before it and with it (Quinto-monarchianism, Familism, Muggletonianism, and Ranterism), and which for some time were thought equally, or even more, important and full of life. Quakerism, then, like Presbyterianism, Independency, and Anabaptism, contained something, or modified something, or adopted something, which preserved a *staid life* in it after the death of its Enthusiasm had made its *growing life* impossible. The Eighteenth century, as well as the Seventeenth, found something in Quakerism which pleased and satisfied its own Secularity. I hope to show this in the Fifth Book of the Essay.

xii. I will conclude this chapter by one of these prophecies of the time when Quakerism shall be no more, made from the firm standpoint of the Church. "These small

* *Letter to Dr. Lee.*

tracts, published on several occasions, I thought not amiss (that they be not lost) to gather together and bind up in these two volumes, and put them into the Bodleian Library; that, in future times, such as shall be inquisitive into such matters may thence understand what kind of people they are who are now called Quakers.”*

NOTE ON SECTION IX.—For some most noble remarks on the matter treated in this section, see a sermon preached by Dr. Hickes (afterwards Dean) before the University of Oxford, July 11, 1680: *The Spirit of Enthusiasm Exorcised*. [London, 4to., 1680, pp. 46.] It was partly called forth by, and partly an answer to, the works of Barclay and Keith. How little then thought the high-principled and conscientious Priest, that in a few short years he himself would be thrust, as a non-juror, from all his offices, and be proclaimed an Enthusiast and a blasphemer by the loose and popular party scribblers of the triumphant Whigs! As, for instance, in the *Independent Whig*, vol. i. p. 66, &c. &c.

* MS. memorandum of John Wallis, D. D., Geom. Prof., Oxon, April 12, 1701, to two collections of George Keith's *Tracts*, marked 8vo., A. 83, Th. and 8vo., F. 95, Th. Also another volume of *Tracts*, with the author's note of gift. See *Reliquiæ Hearnianæ*, vol. i. p. 7. [Oxford, 1857.]

CHAPTER III.

- i. Other motives of Quaker conduct.
- ii. Process of Reasoning in Fanaticism.
- iii. Old Testament Character of Signs exhibited by Quaker Fanaticism.
- iv. Instance from George Fox's *Journal*.
- v. A Meteor of the Age—Signs shown by Puritans against Quakers, as the Divine Condemnation of Quakerism.
- vi. Used by Quakers against Puritans.
- vii. Fanaticism inherent in the Quaker Schism.
- viii. The New Nature a Quaker Nature.
- ix. The Appeal to Fear.

i. THE Divine gift of the Inspiring Light, and the personal Enthusiasm which was mingled and confused with that gift, did not exhaust all the motives of primitive Quaker conduct. The Age demanded that third species of Enthusiasm—the Fanatical temper, or Enthusiasm run mad. The *signs* they gave that their Inspiration was valid were the customary signs of fanatics.

ii. I say, “the Age demanded,” for I believe that such a temper and such signs are nearly always called forth more as answers to a demand from without, more as a delusion of the understanding, than as an impulsion of the will. Great Fanatics are usually *reasoners*. Though essentially false reasoners, yet, to a certain extent, and

upon their own premises, they reason truly. As each of the numerous Sects of that epoch supposed itself to be the true Church, and the restorer of CHRIST'S Discipline; so each felt called upon to exhibit the Church's prerogative, and work the Church's miracles, and show the Church's signs, according as each apprehended that prerogative, those miracles and signs. Thus, if the Presbyterian Sect thought the office of a Bishop, or a Priest, as such, hateful to GOD, and the mark of an apostasy from His true Church; while those of a pastor or presbyter were, as such, delightful to GOD and the marks of a restoration of His Church; since they also thought it the purpose of the Church's life to root out apostasy, by any means, it followed as a consequent duty, that the Puritans should neither tolerate the Priesthood, the Common Prayer, Sacrificial Communion, nor Regenerating Baptism. Hence, too, it was quite reasonable, according to fanatical reasoning, that the Presbyterian ministers should allow such a *sign* to take place as this which is recorded by Ann Docwra: "In those days *the Common Prayer-Book was tied to the Troopers' horses' tails* in some places, and the boys ran after it. This made sport for those priests [pastors] that clamored against it in the pulpit, and their followers. This was Francis Bugg's established Church and ministry [Presbyterianism] that he clamors so much against the Quakers for their going into their steeplehouses, in many of his books. I never heard that the Quakers, so called, disturbed the Episcopal clergy in their worship by going in amongst them; they

only disturbed F. Bugg's established ministers of the late professing times."*

Again, if, as the Puritan preachers and justices believed, their "godly thorough reformation" was the peculiar and cherished work of GOD; and every opposition and hindrance to their "reformation" the work of the Devil; and if their due line of conduct lay, as they believed, in putting down hinderers, and shutting the mouths of opponents by all national and legal means—did it not necessarily follow, as the consequent to such premises, that the imprisonment of Quakers, Churchmen, and Papists, was the due line of conduct for preachers to urge and justices to exercise? Here, also, it was the reasoning which landed the enthusiasts in Fanaticism. So, too, if, as nearly all enthusiasts believe, (and therefore Quakers as enthusiasts,) the exercise of Divine *Powers*, or of divinely ordered *Signs*, is the one ever-necessary witness of the possession of the Divine SPIRIT; and if, secondly, they regard the extraordinary and non-moral powers of the SPIRIT as a higher witness than the ordinary and moral powers; and if, thirdly, they believe that only the true Church can exercise these powers, or hold authority to show these signs; and, fourthly, if they believe themselves to be the only true Church: then, necessarily, they will assert their own ability and their own right to exercise them. Thus, from S. John's catholic doctrine of the indwelling Light of CHRIST, they deduced, through a series of enthusiastic

* *An Apostate Conscience Exposed*, part ii. [London, 8vo., 1700, pp. 22.]

premises, their own fanatical doctrine of a constant and perceptible guidance.

iii. This accounts for the peculiar character of the Signs exhibited by the Quaker fanatics. The Bible was the only book read by Quakers ; and although their language *seemed* to depose Holy Scripture, amongst them, from that high place which it held amongst others, no Christians really depended so much upon it, copied it so entirely and yet unconsciously, in their conduct. But, over them, as over the prior and less logical Sects of Puritanism, the Saints of the Old Covenant had greater power and attraction than the Saints of the New. St. Paul says : "Be ye followers of me, even as I am of CHRIST." Now, the *following of* CHRIST, as a rule of Christly conduct, was a thought which the old Quakers, because of their loose and uncertain view of the Incarnation, could not grasp. An *inward urging by* CHRIST'S SPIRIT was the only rule of Christly conduct which they could grasp. Both rules of conduct are, doubtlessly, taught us by the Church ; we are sure to be sufferers if we lose sight of either. The result, with the fanatical Quakers, was that they snatched at the declaration that the Hebrew Prophets were inwardly and perceptibly urged by CHRIST'S SPIRIT, with far greater eagerness than at S. Paul's invitation to be a follower of him and of the other Apostles, even as they were followers of CHRIST. The calm and quiet dignity of the Apostolical witness was quite alien to the spirit of that Seculum, and was exhibited mainly in the men whom it cast out, such as the holy Herbert. But in the startling and arousing language

and signs of Jeremiah and Ezekiel, it saw something akin to its own theories of the manner of GOD's message-bearers. Beginning with a fear of being copiers of THE MAN, all Whose actions were perfect and of an eternal significance, they ended by being copiers of men whose actions were partial and meant for a time only.

iv. "As I was walking along with several Friends," says George Fox, "I lifted up my head, and I saw three steeplehouse spires, and they struck at my life. I asked them what place that was? And they said Lichfield. Immediately the word of the LORD came to me, that I must go thither. Being come to the house we were going to, I wished the Friends that were with me to walk into the house, saying nothing to them whither I was to go. As soon as they were gone, I stepped away, and went by my eye over hedge and ditch, till I came within a mile of Lichfield; where, in a great field, there were shepherds keeping their sheep. *Then I was commanded by the LORD to pull off my shoes.* I stood still, for it was winter; and the word of the LORD was like a fire in me. So I put off my shoes, and left them with the shepherds; and the poor shepherds trembled and were astonished. Then I walked on about a mile, and as soon as I was got within the city, the word of the LORD came to me again, saying, 'Cry, Woe unto the bloody city of Lichfield!' So I went up and down the streets, crying with a loud voice, 'Woe to the bloody city of Lichfield!' It being market-day, I went into the market-place, and made stands, crying as before, 'Woe to the bloody city of Lichfield!'" He wondered why he was "sent to cry against that city,

and call it the 'bloody city.'"* He afterwards "came to understand that in the Emperor Diocletian's time, a thousand Christians were martyred in Lichfield. So the sense of this blood was upon me, and I obeyed the word of the LORD."

v. That such a Fanaticism as this, exhibiting itself in such Signs, was a meteor of the Age or Seculum then passing away, is evident by the fact that no new Sect dared to announce itself to be the restoration of the one true Church, without the witness of such conduct. The people around—the raw material for these Sects—demanded such signs. One of George Fox's earliest fears (a significant fear, accustomed as he must have been to these demands and expectations) was the fancy that he had not the HOLY GHOST, *because* he had not gifts and prophecies.† Every Sect, not only, as in later days, anathematized every other in the Name of God, but they each, as they fancied, received a confirmation from HIM, by direct and terrible interpositions, that they were His Elect people, and their adversaries portions of the reprobated Apostasy. There are numbers of "dumpy quartos" giving accounts, seriously attested by preachers and justices, of various manners in which God, as it were, comes out of His way to confound the impiety of the Quakers. The Puritans constantly asserted that the Quakers were led by the Devil; and this with the most pertinacious and dogged injustice. "I have been very often solicited to confer with them," says Samuel Eaton, "yet I have perpetually declined it, because I looked upon them as a

* *Journal*, 1651.

† *Ibid.* 1647.

people not only deluded, but given over to the power of Satan.”* From the very first, the Puritans were full of credulities about Satanic possession, and casting out devils by prayer and fasting. They won position and reverence amongst the ignorant, and gave Archbishop Whitgift great trouble by these means.

vi. The “dumpy quartos” and other pamphlets by Quakers, describing God’s singular vengeance upon the apostate Sects, are still more numerous. There was a great judgment upon Derby, and George Fox saw, he said, the visitation of God’s love pass away from it, because it did not regard his witness, but imprisoned him.† At Tickhill, he says, the “priest” [Puritan preacher] scoffed at them and called them Quakers; the LORD’s power “so came over him that he fell a-trembling himself.”‡ At Wakefield, the Independent preacher, of whose society James Naylor had been a member, “fed his people with hellish lies,” and “told them that I (George Fox) rode a great black horse, and was seen in one country upon my black horse in one hour, and in the same hour in another country three score miles off. The LORD soon after met this envious priest, and cut him off in his wickedness.”§ Again, at Carlisle, he says, “The LORD GOD cut off those two persecuting justices.”|| In Somersetshire, a man who “loll’d his tongue out of his mouth, and so made sport for his wicked followers,” in the Quaker’s meeting, “as he went back from the meeting, a bull struck his horn

* *The Quakers Confuted*. [4to., London, 1654.] There is a life of S. Eaton in Palmer’s *Nonconformist’s Memorial*, vol. ii.

† *Journal*, 1651. ‡ *Ibid.* 1652. § *Ibid.* || *Ibid.* 1654.

under the man's chin into his throat, and stuck his tongue out of his mouth ; so that it hung lolling, as he had used it before in derision in the meeting. Thus he that came to do mischief among God's people was mischiefed himself."* When he was in Lancaster Gaol, he says, "Old Preston's wife, of Howker, used many abusive words to me. But the LORD cut her off, and she died a miserable death."†

vii. Fanaticism always decays. When the primitive generation of Quakers had passed away, their doctrinal and scholastic successors were ashamed of the conduct which had been so helpful in the up-building of their own Schism. They apologize for it—attempt to explain it away. So Sewell, the Quaker historian, a cool-headed scholar, and not the least of an enthusiast, endeavors to make the fanatical excesses of the first and best Quakers to be mere *accidents* of the establishment of the Quaker Schism.‡ But, as they appear in Fox's *Journal*, we see that they are inherent in the very life of that work of which he believed himself the carrier-on by GOD's Inspiration. He says that "William Sympson *was moved of the LORD* to go, at several times, for three years, naked and barefoot, for a sign. And sometimes he was moved to put on hair-sackcloth, and to besmear his face." Again, he says, "Robert Huntingdon *was moved of the LORD* to go into Carlisle steeplehouse with a white sheet about him, amongst the great Presbyterians and Inde-

* *Journal*, 1659.

† *Ibid.* 1660.

‡ *History of the Rise, Increase, and Progress of the Christian People called Quakers.* London, fol. 1722. Preface.

pendents there, to show them that the surplice was coming up again ; and he put a halter about his neck, to show them that a halter was coming upon them." Again, after other instances, he adds : " Many warnings of many sorts were Friends moved, *in the power of the LORD*, to give unto that generation ; which they not only rejected, but abused Friends, calling us giddy-headed Quakers."* These are instances from one or two pages only. The book is studded with them.

viii. All the contemporary writers who have left any record of their interviews with the first Quakers, speak of their fanaticism in deed and word as the very rule and habit, not the exception, of Quaker conduct. In July, 1656, Evelyn, being at Ipswich, " had the curiosity to visit some Quakers here in prison—a new fanatic sect of dangerous principles, who show no respect to any man, magistrate, or other, and seem a melancholy, proud sort of people, and exceedingly ignorant."† Richard Baxter says that when he was ill in his bed-chamber the Quaker missionaries (having confronted his assistant in the church) sent him paper upon paper, in which they ad-

* *Journal*, 1660. "There is not a year," says Leslie, "scarcely a month, wherein some Quaker or other is not going about our street, here in London, either naked or in some exotic figure, denouncing woes, judgments, plagues, sword, and famine."—*Theological Works*, vol. iv. p. 314. [Oxford ed.] This was after the great body of the Quakers had grown calm, or, as Leslie expresses it, "had gone off from that height of blasphemy and madness professed among them in the year 1650."

† *Diary and Correspondence*, vol. i. p. 315. [London, 1850.]

dressed him thus: "Thou serpent, thou liar, thou deceiver, thou child of the Devil, thou cursed hypocrite, thou dumb dog, with much more of the like." * Magnus Byne mentions another Quaker missionary, who, holding a meeting at a house near him, was kindly asked by the woman of the house, already a Quakeress in heart, to take some food which she had provided. "'What!' he replied, 'shall I eat with devils and dogs?' And, pointing to a dog, 'There's thy companion, thy fellow-creature, of the same nature with thyself,—and shall I eat with thee, a devil, a dog?' And was not this a good argument at the first meeting to persuade the woman to be a Quaker?" † Another Quaker, he says, "exhorting to meekness, silence, and the like, presently falling a-railing, cursing, and roaring against priests and hirelings, I asked him in patience how these two speeches could hang together,—we must be meek, calm, quiet, but he must roar and rage? At the first dash, the man cries out, 'Thou art a beast, thou art a belly-god,' and the like." ‡

* *The Quaker's Catechism*. [4to., London, 1655.] Preface to the Reader. It is just, however, to add that the Presbyterians, Independents, and Anabaptists are continually complained of by George Fox for abusive and insulting language. When he was in prison at Carlisle, he says they "were exceedingly rude and devilish. There was a company of bitter Scotch priests, Presbyterians, made up of envy and malice, who were not fit to speak of the things of God, they were so foul-mouthed."—*Journal*, 1653.

† *The Scornful Quakers Answered, and their Railing Reply Refuted, by the meanest of the LORD'S Servants*. [4to., London, 1656, p. 124.] Preface to the Reader.

‡ *Ibid*.

Again, another, "applying the speech of CHRIST unto himself, 'Before Abraham was, I AM,' I asked him if he was not ashamed—did ever Saint apply that to himself? He answered, he understood it of the Spirit that was within him." *

By such speeches (prompted by that Pantheistic tendency among the first Quakers, which was arrested by James Naylor's extreme development of it), it was implied that the New Nature was a Quaker nature, the Old fallen Nature an un-Quaker Nature. It followed, that Regeneration came to mean, with many converts, nothing more than becoming a fanatical Quaker. The assumptions of fanatics, in a distracted world, always meet with mighty success. If such assumptions help to explain the growth of Quakerism in a fanatical Seculum, then the death of such a Seculum, and the loss and cession of

* *The Scornful Quakers Answered.* Another specimen of Quaker incivility: "Thou" (Townsend, a Puritan preacher) "sayest that it is all one to say 'the Scripture saith' and 'God saith.' *Thou blasphemous Beast*, dost thou make no difference between the Scripture and God? or is the Scripture God, when the Scripture saith God, Who is the WORD, was in the beginning? Let all that read this see thy blasphemie."—p. 9: *Ishmael and his Mother cast out into the Wilderness; Given forth from the SPIRIT of the LORD in us that do suffer in the Gaol of Norwich.* That is, George Whitehead, Christopher Atkinson, James Lancaster, and Thomas Simons. Again, Edward Burroughs, in his book against John Bunyan, has such expressions as this: "The more I rake among *thy filth*, the more vilely and odious it appears," p. 33: *Truth, the Strongest of All, Witnessed forth in the SPIRIT of Truth against Deceit.* [4to., London, 1857.]

these assumptions, will help to explain its decay. Byne speaks of the simple as being actually *frightened into* Quakerism. His words are: "Such a strong enchantment I find in this mad carriage, that some poor souls are even overcome with their violence, and have thrown away, not the Light and Grace of GOD only that once appeared in them, but their reason and humanity too, and subjected themselves to this carnal yoke, for fear of being still condemned of the Devil." * George Fox says that while he spoke "the word of life and salvation from the LORD" in Carlisle Cathedral, "the power of the LORD was dreadful amongst them in the steeplehouse, so that the people trembled and shook, and they thought the steeplehouse shook; and some of them feared it would fall down on their heads." †

ix. The *appeal to fear* is said to be one of the modes of those perversions into the Romish community, so frequent in our day. If so, it is so because of the *assumption* of the Papacy, that no man or woman can be a mem-

* *The Scornful Quakers Answered*. Preface. His words are the more trustworthy, since from the Quakerly character of his own Theology, rather *Mystical* than *Puritan*, he could sympathize with the Catholic truth in Quakerism. Whereas, Puritans (even the best of Puritans, Baxter) could not in the slightest measure comprehend how Quakers could be Christians at all. "What is the First Principle of Pure Religion? The SOX or GOD dwelling in us. He who lives in this Principle is taught to be religious," p. 1. "What is the Talent given to every man? It is that measure of the Light and Truth which is given to and manifested in every man which comes into the world," p. 2.

† *Journal*, 1653.

ber of the Invisible Body of CHRIST, and therefore in a state of Salvation from sin and sin's end in Hell, except mediately through their visible Church. The great body of men and women who are looking upon Salvation as an escape from physical or metaphysical fire and torment,—and not as a victory over sin, a deliverance of the will, by the Self-sacrificer JESUS, from the slavery of sinning,—are in constant danger of becoming the prey of any teacher, personal or corporate, putting forth such an assumption. The Romish Schism (for among us it is a Schism) has plausible things to say for itself to this fearful and unsettled body in our day. In the seventeenth century, in England, Quakerism had plausible things to say to the same fearful and unsettled body. It claimed to be the one Holy Church, the only Ark of Salvation; it showed all the Signs of being so which that World, that Seculum, demanded. This body of men and women, therefore, were at the mercy of Quakerism, and required little more than the beckoning of a finger to become Quakers.

If Quakers could speak to this body in our day, their decay would suddenly cease, and a re-increase begin. But they know that they would be liars and deceivers if they were again to proclaim their Society to be the Ark of Salvation, the only Church of GOD; and to proclaim, in the name of the LORD, all other Christian societies, companies of apostates. The acting WORD of GOD in History has taught them that they are only a private society of Christians. Their very righteousness and sense of truth are pledged (by their abstinence from these disapproved assumptions) to the necessary decay of their own Society.

CHAPTER IV.

- i. *Intensity* of Primitive Quaker Conduct.
- ii. *Signs of this Intensity*—Quakerism the whole Business of Quakers.
- iii. *Reasons*—Good Quakers found all Duty to God and Men comprised in the Conversion of Humanity to Quakerism.
- iv. *Exaltation of Preaching* in Seventeenth Century—Wide thirst for the Office of Preacher—*Every Quaker and Quakeress* might be an aggressive Missionary.
- v. Reasons for intensity in the *less religious Quakers*—Honor and Credit staked upon the universal Prevalence of Quakerism—William Penn.
- vi. Moral Conduct.

i. I SPOKE in the first chapter of this Book of the ideal principle of Quaker conduct. I showed that it was the *real principle* of the existing Catholic Church, that the Inspiration of the HOLY GHOST is the only true motive of men's good acts and thoughts, that every other principle of conduct except *the very life of God within us* is un-churchly. In the second and third chapters I spoke of the mixed motives of Quaker conduct—personal Enthusiasm, and the Fanaticism of the age; and of the diseased and extravagant thoughts and actions which arose from these motives. In this chapter I wish to speak of the *intensity* of Quaker conduct. I believe we shall find that the main distinction between ancient and modern

Quaker conduct under this head is little more than the distinction between heartiness and languor—between hard work and quiet ease.

ii. In the early days of the movement, Quakerism was nearly the whole business of Quakers. It became so, necessarily. The monstrous assumption upon which they separated themselves from the rest of men, their implicit damnation of all the christened and unchristened, made the conviction of the whole world their plain and positive mission.

iii. The *good* Quakers—believing their society to be the restoration of the one only true Church, out of which there is no salvation—and believing themselves also to be inwardly anointed by the SPIRIT of CHRIST to call all men unto obedience to Him, to that LORD who is for ever standing and knocking at the door of their consciences—found their Christian service, their self-sacrifice, their faith, their charity towards CHRIST's redeemed, all pledged by their position to the sole work of making proselytes. The glory of the FATHER; the satisfaction of the labor and sorrow of JESUS; the victory of the SPIRIT over the unruly wills of men; the delivery of Christians out of unsafe Sects into the living Church; the salvation of our race; the fulfilment of prophecies; the realization of the hopes and prayers of sixteen hundred years; (if the founders of Quakerism meant what they said,) depended upon the whole Humankind becoming Quakers. To this Eternal work, all temporary works and employments must give way. Men of every trade and profession threw up their really Divine vocations, the duties to which the FATHER

of Order had called them; and took up the vocation into which they were called by the disorderly spirit of Enthusiasm. And everywhere Enthusiasm recognized and received its own. The Quaker missionaries never seem to have wanted meat, drink, clothing, a home, money. Indeed, Keith, Leslie, Francis Bugg, and others (in the next generation of Quakerism), make much of the *worldly* gain, and improvement of secular position, which they say accrued to almost all the leading Quaker preachers. But the faith given to the assertions of opponents, and particularly of perverts, must be slow and cautionary. The gain of riches was certainly not *the* purpose which moved the early Quakers to throw up their vocations; the gain of Mankind was the purpose. That, ultimately, they gathered gold rather than men, must be looked upon as the declaration of the WORD of GOD, *through the natural occurrences of His Order*, that their procedure was grounded upon a delusion, and therefore could not bring about the issue it aimed at; and that Quakerism was not the Kingdom of Heaven, the Catholic Church, the ultimate Home of the redeemed Human-kind. For His Kingdom, instead of disturbing the common duties and businesses of men, consecrates them all as Divine callings.*

* Edward Skipp, an early writer against the Quakers, and Baptist preacher at Bodenham, in Hertfordshire, says that he frequently asked them what would become of all children and all labors, if every one turned Quaker, and neglected them. They answered that such things "must shift for themselves when CHRIST's voice calls."—*The World's Wonder; or, the*

iv. The Seventeenth Century—that Age of which Quakerism was the last term, the essential expression, the peculiarly epochal or secular Sect—prided itself on being intensely *spiritual*, and on having been called by GOD to *restore spirituality* to His Church. This Age separated Flesh and Spirit, as the method of restoration; as the consequence, it lost all right faith in that central article of the Creed, “*And was made Flesh;*” and it ended by becoming more unspiritual in its religion, its philosophy, and its life, than all the preceding Ages of Christendom. That Age accounted an unceasing organic Kingdom of God to be a lie; a Sacrificing Priesthood to be a lie; one Sacrament a memorial, the other a mockery; and that preaching or hearing sermons was the main business of religious men. The office of a preacher was elevated to a dangerous height: it was the cynosure of the ill-edu-

Quaker's Blazing Star; with an Astronomical Judgment given upon the same, pp. 30, 31. [4to., 1655.]

See William Dewsbury's own report of his examination at Northampton. *A Testimony of the Ground from whence the Persecution did arise against the Servant of the Most High God*, p. 5: “Judge Hale: Art thou William Dewsbury?—W. D.: Yea, I am so called. Judge Hale: Where dost thou live?—W. D.: I live in the LORD, and I have a wife and children at Wakefield, in Yorkshire. Judge Hale: Why did you come in Northampton, and leave your family?—W. D.: I staid in that county with my wife and children until the FATHER revealed his Sox in me, and called me forth from my wife and children to declare the Word of Eternal Life, the everlasting Gospel I am sent to preach to those that dwell on the earth.” [4to., London, 1655.]

cated, the pettily ambitious, the domineering, the weak. Those religious appetites which were not yet so diseased as to covet the charisms of tongues or of miracles, longed to exercise the charism of teaching. Quakerism gave such pleasant draughts to this distemper as no prior Sect could give. It said to them: 'You wish you were in the ministry; you say you are not ordained, perhaps not called. There is no need for you to have even such an ordination and call as the Presbyterians and Independents contend for. The call of GOD (or the Quaker imagination of that call) is enough to constitute any man, or woman either, a minister.' Butchers, bakers, farmers, justices, herdsman, might all have this ordination, and might be ministers, without forsaking their other duties. Nowadays they are so; but *then* Quakers had a more awful assumption to vindicate, a more disturbing and absorbent labor of love and sacrifice to carry out: they could not vindicate that assumption, they could not carry out that labor in its whole intensity, unless they gave up all their time, and their utmost powers, to the doing of it. By becoming a Quaker, for a long period, nearly every man and woman became also a minister. It is this, above everything else, of which the Puritan preachers and justices complain in their petitions to the Parliament against Quakers, in their sentences against them; for their ministry was fiercely *aggressive*. They went forth to "call men from their teachers without to the Teacher within." Every Quaker and Quakeress was expected to be an anointed missionary.

v. The merely *secular* Quakers—who entered the body

from its attraction for their fancy, or from the conviction of their understanding, or from an insight into its adaptation to the religious appetite of the Age, or some other secondary motive,—must have rather seen a theoretical fitness in a Divine Inspiration as the spring of every act and thought, than have been conscious obeyers of CHRIST'S Voice in the conscience. But they were as anxious to make proselytes, as their really religious fellows. They labored for Quakerism with money, tongue, and pen, as for that system to the truth of which *their own* wisdom, honor, insight, and advancement were pledged. The more quakerly Quakers—those who in the second generation still looked upon Quakerism rather as *the* key to the war of the Divine Light in us with the Sin in us, than as a set of theses to be made the groundwork of a new body, and who took no part in the definitive formation of such a body—believed William Penn to be a man of this kind. They regarded his aristocratic acquaintances, his finished politeness, his parade of heathen learning, his court influence, his perpetual appeals to mere national laws and rights, with a hot jealousy for the work of the Light.*

vi. How far the *moral conduct* of Quakers is related to the growth or decay of their body, I have determined to leave unmentioned. All questions of progress or retro-

* See, among others, John Crook's tract, *An Epistle to all that profess the Light of JESUS CHRIST within to be their Guide*. [4to., London, 1678.] He mourns over the decay of their primitive spirit, over "their glorying and boasting in the *Gifted Man*, their forgetting all dependence upon the Opener, the SPIRIT of Truth." See, also, William Burrell's tract, *A*

gression here, are fitter questions for persons within the Society than for those outside. Certainly Quaker morality, however noble, does not arise from what is quakerly in Quakerism, but from what is Human and Catholic in it.

Testimony against Hypocrites and Deceivers, p. 6. [4to., 1676.]
“As for William Penn, it was pretty clear unto me several months, if not years, before I saw him, that he was more a Scholar than a Saint, as his writings declared to me, near three hundred miles distance. But what he is not I hope he may come to be, as he waits to know that God in the pure silence of all flesh and fleshly wisdom, Whom he hath so much written and talked of.”

CHAPTER V.

- i. *Reflection* of Primitive Quaker Conduct in Modern Quakerism.
- ii. Reflection of *Inspiration*—*Unquakerly* mode of speaking of the HOLY GHOST.
- iii. Modern Quakerism *one Species of Modern Puritanism*.
- iv. Quaker faith in the Principle of Inspiration decayed—*Hicksism* an attempt to revive it.
- v. Reflection of *Enthusiasm*.
- vi. Reflection of *Fanaticism*.
- vii. Reflection of *Intensity*.
- viii. Reflection of *Extension*.

i. I HAVE given a sketch of four leading features of primitive Quaker conduct, here and there hinting, as I passed along, at modern Quaker divergencies. I purpose in this chapter a more particular holding up of the modern glass to the ancient image. By the faithfulness or unfaithfulness of the *reflection* we shall see how far the mirror is warped, dulled, scratched, or unreflecting.

ii. In the first place, do the Quakers of the present day assert their claim to Inspiration? Do they point to it as the spring of all their acts and thoughts? Do they put it forward as the principle which distinguishes them from all other Sects? Is their conduct the same with that of their 'fathers,' in its ideal principle and motive?

I think very few would pretend that it is. If we open almost any modern Quaker biography, we shall find the influence of the HOLY SPIRIT spoken of in the set phrases of the fashionable and secular religion. The difference between the Quaker and Puritan biographies of the Seventeenth Century, is a chasm which appears to every one who has travelled along either of the opposite edges impossible to be ever bridged over; yet, in the Quaker and popular Puritan biographies of our day, this difference has shrunk to a little crack or fissure, scarcely perceptible. Indeed, one might pass from Puritanism into Quakerism, in our time, without having to encounter any mighty inquiry on the frontier land, whether or no he was moved by the HOLY GHOST to this journey, whether or no he was a real partaker of the Substance of GOD, and a host of other queries, which would startle his Puritan consciousness at one moment with the fear that he was among a set of Pantheists; at another, of Gnostics; at another, of Socinians. Old Quakers would have asked us if we stood in the same Spirit as Moses, Isaiah, and St. Paul; and would have thrust us back if we said with Owen, Baxter, or Bunyan, *No*. Modern Quakers would thrust us back if we said with Naylor, Fox, and Howgill, *Yes*. Ancient Quakers would demand whether the Scriptures, or the Eternal SPIRIT who gave forth the Scriptures, brought us to their gate. If we said '*The Scriptures*,' they would thrust us back. True, no set of men ever really valued, studied, loved the Bible more intensely than the first Quakers; their language, symbols, images, the forms of their fanaticism, prove an extraordinary acquaintance

with it. But when they found men resting on it, worshipping it, forgetful of the SPIRIT Who only makes it a living Book to men, they called it "dust," "death," "serpents' food." And to such men it was so. But the modern Quakers would thrust us back if we said '*The SPIRIT.*' At all events, they would probe our language to discover if we were not, in secret, Hicksites.

iii. Modern Quakers are only Puritans who do not pay their Ministers, do not submit to Episcopal, Presbyterian, or Independent government, do not war, do not pay tithes, do not take the Sacrament of the Altar, have not been baptized, do not follow the fashions, with many other negatives. Modern Puritans are only Quakers who fulfil, instead of deny, these negatives. There is no tremendous and irreconcilable bar between them, as of old. The Quakers do not now assert themselves as the *inspirati* and *inspiratoe* of GOD, the breathers and utterers of His ever-speaking continuous Bible. Some such language is used by Mr. Emerson and his disciples; but the Quakers do not feel any unity with it. The Puritans do not any longer point to the Quakers as enthusiasts and fanatics goaded on by the Devil to destroy all spiritual religion in the name of the SPIRIT. Both find a common home in that Religious World which is the ultimate Catholicon of all Sects, and of all the sectarianly disposed in the Church.

iv. The decay of faith in the old Quaker principle—that no desire, nor thought, nor act, is righteous except as it is a fruit of the HOLY SPIRIT within—is not only a token of irretrievable Quaker decay; it is the token of a

decay which can know no restoration. If all Quakers should unite to recover this principle of conduct, *as Quakers*, it would be of no use. Individual Quakers may do so, are doing so, *as Christians*. Hicksism was the result of such an endeavor. But it made a schism, if anything, more unlike primitive Quakerism than is the "evangelical" Quakerism of England. The life of such great bodies stands in the Will of GOD and the need of men, and not in the will of the body itself. The principle of conduct to which Quakerism witnessed is Eternal, and eternally necessary. When Quakerism gave up its witness, the witness was taken away from it. Its home is not now in Quakerism. The Quakers themselves began, unconsciously perhaps, to acknowledge this, when in their second generation, their scholastic and apologetic period, they grounded every tenet of Quakerism upon the Bible, upon the testimony of the Catholic Fathers, and of the Liturgy of the English Church. It was a virtual confession that every reverent disciple of Saint Clement of Alexandria, Saint Justin Martyr, Saint Augustine, nay, every faithful user of the National Prayer-book, might have the Inspiration and leading of the SPIRIT, and yet not be led into Quaker communion: and, therefore, a confession that the Quaker Body was not the Social Organ of the HOLY GHOST, the one only Inspired Church.

v. If the holiest Quakers do not care to plead their possession of the HOLY GHOST, in that exclusive sense which gave sudden strength to their first fathers, as their *real* Inspirer to every act and thought, it is not likely that they will be led by a *fanciful* inspiration, to claim

an afflatus of GOD within, enabling them potentially to cast out devils, to discern spirits, to work miracles, to administer the Divine judgments. Modern Quakers are *not Enthusiasts*. Here and there indeed, an enthusiastic Quaker arises; but he is an exception, not an example, of the tone of Quaker thought and conduct. The great body of Quakers pretend to no afflatus. If they did, this generation would not answer them.

vi. Modern Quakers are *not Fanatics*. They make no attempt to exhibit the signs of prophets; they do not try to work miracles. Ask any one, in our day and country, who are the most calm, orderly, *unfanatical* of all Sects; and the answer would be, 'The Quakers.' Every minute section of their life—religious, social, political—is *arranged*. The effect of their educational discipline is to root out all wildness, passion, and fire, and to give them a self-mastery peculiar and so noted that it can only be called *quakerly*. If any one nowadays should astonish any ordinary English company, by telling them that he had seen a man and woman walk stark naked through Colchester or Durham, crying out 'that the LORD GOD had commanded them to strip themselves as a sign unto the people,' nothing would so *deepen* the astonishment of that company as to be told also, that the fanatical couple were Quakers. If a man suddenly startled the present congregation of one of the most thronged churches in London, by seating himself on the Altar during Divine service, stitching an old coat; or, by suddenly slipping up into the pulpit and placing his feet on the pulpit cushion, saying 'that the LORD ordered him to declare

that Altars and pulpits were unholy,' nothing would so incline the congregation to doubt the plain testimony of their senses, as the recognition of the fanatic as a noted minister in the Society of Friends.

vii. I have shown that modern Quakers do not claim that authoritative kind and measure of inspiration which was claimed by their founders—an inspiration making them the equals of the writers of the Bible—an inspiration separating them from all other Sects. Yet they claim a certain kind of inspiration. A measure of inspiration is the theoretic ground of the Quaker ministry. But this is not of a nature which makes it *impossible for them to be anything but Quakers*, as is evident from the recorded acts and opinions of some of the noblest modern Quaker ministers.*

viii. And this ministry is now the business of *few* Quakers. It has lost in extent as well as intensity. Complaints of a dearth of ministers are very frequent. The process

* What is *quakerly* in Quaker Theology is often that which modern Quakers most dislike. "I do not like," says Elizabeth Fry, "the habit of that mysterious, ambiguous mode of expression in which Friends at times clothe their observations and their ministry. I like the truth in simplicity" (that is, the set phraseology of the Religious World), "it needs no mysterious garment." What was this lady but an essential Puritan, an *accidental* Quaker? Again, about the time of the Beaconite controversy (1833-34), she writes: "There is much stirring among Friends, arising from a considerable number taking a *much higher evangelical ground than has generally been taken by the Society, bordering, I apprehend, in a few, on Calvinism.*"

is the very reverse to that of old Friends: the ministry is left untouched for the sake of business.* An orthodox defender of the Society has recently proposed, as a provision against this sign of death, the adoption of another sign of death—the *forsaking* of testimony against hireling priests! He proposes that Quaker ministers should be paid. “That there is to be found in the New Testament a full and clear warrant for the support of ministers when so engaged in the exercise of their calling as to be precluded from laboring for their own livelihood, is indisputable; and it may admit of some difference of opinion, whether Friends do in all cases go quite as far as the general tenor of Scripture would sanction.”†

But in the sphere of *aggression* the greatest decay is manifest. Originally, the Quakers were the Sect most before the world. Their present peculiarity is that they are the most hidden and private of all bodies. How eagerly certain novels affecting to describe Quaker life

* Were it not for the Female Ministry, their dearth would be more rapidly destructive. Dr. S. H. Cox, whose secession was the occasion of much stir and criticism amongst American Friends, gives it as one of his “Reasons for renouncing the doctrine of the Society of Friends,” that “they are far the more numerous bench. Matrons and Spinsters sometimes doubly outnumber their masculine co-presbyters, and out-preach them in quantity and quality, matter and manner.”—*Quakerism no Christianity*, p. 637, 8vo., New York, 1833.

* *Remarks on Seven Letters to a Member of the Society of Friends*, p. 20, 8vo., London, 1855. All through, the Bible, *not the HOLY GHOST*, is the infallible authority and rule of faith. So un-quakerly is even an *apologist* for Quakerism.

were snatched at by those *studiosi novis rebus*, the light readers of the day. The aggressions of Quakers, too, were not made upon the heathens and the irreligious. It was the Religious World which the whole of Fox's *Journal* shows that he and his fellows were striving to bring to salvation, that is, to Quakerism. Bunyan, Baxter, Henry More, and Henry Hammond, were all alike "out of the Light."

BOOK V.

THE WORLD WITHOUT; EXTERNAL CAUSES OF QUAKER DECAY.

CHAPTER I.

- i. The *Seventeenth Century* helpful to the Growth of Quakerism.
- ii. Was the *Eighteenth*?—*Two Symptoms of Decline within the Body.*
- iii. Loss of *Assumption*—Loss of *Vigor.*
- iv. *Hyper-Spiritual aim, Anti-Spiritual result* of the *Seventeenth Century*—*Negative Preparation* for the *Eighteenth.*
- v. A *Positive Preparation* for it—*Materialism*—Hobbes.
- vi. *Eighteenth Century Dogmas*—*Supremacy of the State*—*Importance and Reality of the Body.*
- vii. Original *Spirit of Quakerism* hostile to these Dogmas.
- viii. The Age found much in *Quakerism itself* not hostile—The *Unchurchliness* of Quakerism.
- ix. The *Creedlessness* of Quakerism.
- x. The *Unreligiousness* of Quakerism.
- xi. Direct Sympathies of *Deism* and *Philosophism.*

i. I HAVE already said that the *Soil Without*, that external causes, condition the growth of the Divine Seed. I have shown that it was so within the Divine Seed in

Quakerism in the Seventeenth Century. But I pointed out, also, that *Quakerism itself*, as a schismatic or severed body, was favored and aided by the Seventeenth Century. It was, so to speak, the best plant for that soil; and not only so, but the soil was the very kind for the plant. Everything in that Age helped Quakerism. It met with an extraordinary preparation and welcome in that Age. It met with a bitter persecution in that Age; the persecution watered and scattered it. Its universal aggression was opposed by a resistance as extended. The resistance gave it vigor and emulation.

ii. Was the next Century as favorable? Did the Eighteenth Seculum tend to the increase or the limitation of Quakerism?

It is impossible to fix a set period for the decline of a religious body. We can only do so for *some of the symptoms* of a decline. For we must keep in mind that such symptoms may be counteracted by the addition of some unconsidered causes of life. I think, however, that these two symptoms of decline make themselves manifest very early in the Eighteenth Century: First, *Quakerism ceased from its great deeds*. Secondly, *the great sufferings of the Quakers were put an end to*. The missionary aggression of Quakerism upon every other body ceased; the persecution of the Quakers by every other body ceased: they neither attacked as they used; nor were they attacked as they had been.

iii. What was the result of this change? Ease from provocation brought the common fate of Schisms to the Quaker Schism; its *emulatory and enthusiastic spirit*

died out. Rest brought contemplation; and then something better was perceived in other men—more of fault in themselves; in these perceptions its *assumptions gradually declined.* Thus the two chief sources of its internal strength as a Schism—its assumptive faith in itself, and its enthusiastic conduct—grew weaker daily. The *plant* sickened, whether the *soil* was or was not suitable.

iv. I think the soil was certainly not suitable to the spirit and intention of Quakerism. The change from the Seventeenth to the Eighteenth Century took from the *external strength* of Quakerism also. I have said already that the forgetting of the Incarnation which was so characteristic of the Seventeenth Century, and the consequent depreciation of the Sacraments, and the attempts to realize an intense spirituality (the spiritual being apprehended merely as the *not fleshly, not bodily*), had ended necessarily in a gross and general unspirituality. The Incarnation has sanctified the Flesh for men in the flesh, has taught them how to be its masters, not its slaves; its masters, not its oppressors. “The Eternal Word became Flesh,” say all the Catholic Fathers, “that men in the Flesh might learn from The MAN in the Flesh to become God.”* And it is their constant position that the wide and excessive materialism in which the most diverse and contradictory of the early heresies finally lost themselves in common, sprung from their departing from the Catholic

* See especially Saint Clement of Alexandria: *Exhortation to the Greeks*, chap. i.

Doctrine of the Two Natures in Him who was the SON of GOD and SON of MAN.*

v. The Hyper-Spiritualism of the Sects of the Seventeenth Century not only *negatively* prepared the growing generation for Anti-Spiritualism; a *positive* and dogmatic Materialism was also all the while quietly evolving itself alongside of the dominant tendency. This subdued and quiet tendency had the promise of the *Seculum to come*. The Eighteenth Century was the most essentially materialist of all the *Secula* of the Christian epoch. During the Seventeenth Century, this tendency, as yet unmaturing, was mainly known under the name of *Hobbism*. Thomas Hobbes was sending out his *De Cive* and *Leviathan* at the same time as George Fox was preaching. Indeed, he mentions the Quakers as one species of that mass of Enthusiasts whose principles and works it was the purpose of his life to counteract. Amongst Hobbists, Locke, the real master of the Eighteenth Century, the developer of the materialist tendency, had his education, though learning little, perhaps, from Hobbes' own books.† George Fox and Thomas Hobbes were the most deep and thorough opposites to one another—the north and south poles of the metaphysical universe. And, as Quakerism in its last result was hyper-credulous and hyper-spiritual, so Hobbism in its last result was

* See Dr. Pusey. *Sermons during the Season from Advent to Whitsuntide*. Preface, pp. xxi. xxii. [2nd edition, Oxford, 1848.]

† Mr. G. H. Lewes contends that he never even read them. —*Biographical History of Philosophy*, p. 430. [London, 1857.]

hyper-sceptical and hyper-material. As Quakerism, the essential *Ism* of the Seventeenth Century, had almost explained away bodily existence, had scarcely counted the flesh as part of the man,—so the Eighteenth Century, in its peculiarly representative *Isms*, almost explained away spiritual existence, counted every spiritual sense a physical effect, and scarcely dared to believe the existence of God, since He could not be seen or touched.

vi. And, further, as the Seventeenth Century had counted the State to exist only for the sake of the Church (which Church, with every Sect meant *itself*, from the Presbyterians to the Fifth Monarchy men, the Quakers included), so the Eighteenth Century *reversed* this belief, by developing to the utmost the principle of Hobbes, of the absolute supremacy of the State. Throughout the Eighteenth Century the Church was subordinated to the State, became, in the worst use of the term, “the Establishment;” and it was taken for granted by the peculiarly secular men, “the men of the time,” that She, the Spouse of the Eternal WORD, existed to serve and obey the State. The High Churchmen, who asserted that CHRIST, and not William the Third or George the First, was the true Head of the Church, were accounted the “Fanatics” and “Enthusiasts” of that age, even as the Quakers had been of the prior age.* They—Sancroft and Ken, Leslie and Collier—preserved and maintained that witness which (under a different form, indeed) Fox and his fellows had maintained against Oliver Cromwell and

* See the *Independent Whig*, *Cato's Letters*, the *Terræ Filius*, and any of the really popular Whig journals.

the Parliament. Throughout the Eighteenth Century, *the State and the Body* were the universal concern and study of Englishmen.

vii. Was not this a soil peculiarly unsuitable to the *original spirit and intention* of Quakerism, utterly contradictory to the *Idea* beheld by George Fox? Must it not have robbed the Quakers of every hope of their universal conquest of mankind? Would it not involve a fiery battle between the most spiritualist of Sects and the most materialist of *Secula*? It *was* utterly contradictory to the original spirit—to the Idea of the Quakers. It *did* involve a fiery battle. But in that battle the Seculum eventually overcame. No man *can* be independent of the pressure of his age, no Sect can be. Quakerism was not. Really *quakerly* Quakers remained far into the century; such men as Thomas Story.* The strong walls of the Discipline also kept many, as it were, in the Seventeenth Century after the Eighteenth had begun. But the mass of Quakers became permeated with the spirit of their time. They gave up their sublime and impossible dream of a Universal Quakerism. They gave up that exciting aggression, which, under the SPIRIT's leading, was to bring that dream into a fact. They became the most retiring and unproselytizing of all Sects. They turned

* But the work of such preachers and travelers as, for instance, John Woolman and Katherine Phillips, was to admonish, and build up, and purify the Church itself (*i. e.* Quakers); it was not to convince Schismatics (*i. e.* Churchmen and all sorts of Dissenters), and lead them into the true Ark of Life (*i. e.* Quakerism).

their energy into Commerce, and made great riches. They turned their holy attention to the *Bodies* of men, and to *bodily wants*; and so, by degrees, they gained a national fame as Philanthropists. When they found they could not conquer the Seculum, they served it. Thus Quakerism preserved itself from a rapid *destruction*, by submitting to a sure and certain gradual *decline*. The ideal virtue of the Eighteenth Century was what it called "*Public Spirit*." The formal decrees of Quaker law prevented Quakers from exhibiting this virtue. The Age took their philanthropy as the Quaker substitute for it.

viii. I said that in the Seventeenth Century the soil not only suited the plant, the Age not only helped Quakerism, but that the plant also was the very kind for the soil. Quakerism suited and pleased the Age. So also the Eighteenth Century found much in Quakerism, as a *system*, which inclined it to spare it and use it; although, as an attempt to express a *principle*, it was so irreconcilably opposed to it.

The *Unchurchliness* of Quakerism pleased the Eighteenth Century. It was the most dissident of all the dissenting bodies. It had thrown away Sacraments. It had not even the shadow of what could be called a Priesthood, the name most hateful to the atheistic politicians and popular idols of that Seculum. Even the men who solemnly declared in the face of God and His congregation that they were moved by the HOLY GHOST to take upon them the office of a Priest in His Church, contended that there was no such office in His Church; they sunk their souls in unpriestly dissipation, or, at best, in a self-

seeking literature ; they left the poorer sheep of CHRIST'S flock unfed ; and they made of the Church a mere lottery for prize-hunters.*

ix. The *Creedlessness* of Quakerism pleased the Eighteenth Century. Quakerism and the Age seemed to move along the same road in their dislike of the Catholic doctrine of the Trinity. The Quakers had never dogmatized upon it. They had thus many points of touch with the *Arian* tendency of the Age. With its *Pelagian* tendency they had as many. In spite of the protests and assertions of Barclay, and the extraordinary Anti-Pelagianism of the first Quakers, the Light Within began gradually to be spoken of as *a* light, an influence, a natural gift, a religious *tendency* in every man, a part of his ordinary spiritual anatomy ; not as the communication of the LORD Himself to the conscience, the actual Presence of the SON within, the Very Light of Very GOD.

x. The *Unreligiousness* which the Age itself *begat* in Quakerism pleased the Eighteenth Century. What the Methodist revivalists said of Tillotson, the pet theologian of the Age, its really representative Christian, its Whig Bishop, its Episcopal Quaker, its unchurchly Churchman, namely—"That he might be a heathen for anything the reader of some of his sermons could tell"—might be applied to the religion of lesser men in lesser bodies. Early in the century, the Quakers ceased to publish tracts and pamphlets *against the religion* of the Seculum, for it soon became their own religion. But *against the religious in-*

* See the most melancholy Lives of Swift, Churchill, Dodd, Sterne, and others.

stitutions of the Seculum, so far as these touched their pockets, they not only continued to write, they wrote more fiercely. There are reams of vigorous onslaughts upon tithes and church-rates, called Tracts "of *Sufferings*." The utterly *unreligious* tone of these tracts is astounding. They are mere matters of business; in the same style and language as reports of sales, damages, or losses. The very highest ground they assume is *traditional*—the keeping up of the witness of elders. The original Quaker ground (false and untenable as it was), of an Inspired and Inspiring Message from God against all such institutions, as symbols of Idolatry and Apostasy from God, never flashes out from these cold books.

xi. The direct sympathy of the Deists of the Eighteenth Century (both in England and France) with the Quakers, is very noticeable. Woolston wrote to Dr. Bennett, who answered the *Apology* of Robert Barclay, a vindication of the Quakers, as "the nearest of any Sect to the Primitive Christians in principles and practice."* A traveller in France found the disciples of Rousseau erecting columns to William Penn, as the companion of Descartes, Newton, Montesquieu, and their own master. The *Ingenuous Huron* of Voltaire is essentially a Quaker novel, and might have been written by an ordinary Quaker of that Age.

* London, 1720, 8vo., pp. 63.

CHAPTER II.

- i. Fichte's character of the Eighteenth Century.
- ii. Is the *Soil* of the Nineteenth Century Naturally Helpful or Destructive to Quakerism?—Cannot be Destructive to the Quaker *Idea*, because Eternal.
- iii. What are, and are not, *Tendencies*—The Resistance to a Tendency often taken for a Tendency.
- iv. *Catholicity* a Tendency.
- v. Attempts to realize Catholicity—Common Work—Common Opinion—Common Nature.
- vi. Can Quakerism adopt the Basis of *Work*?
- vii. Or, the Basis of *Opinion*?—Destructive to the Quaker *Idea*—To the Quaker *Ism*.
- viii. Or, the Basis of *Nature*?
- ix. *Ritualism* a tendency of the Age.
- x. Can Quakerism meet this Tendency?—Quaker Ritualism.

I HAVE given a very faint and imperfect sketch of the results of the last age upon Quakerism. I have shown that the *Idea* of Quakerism—the *life according to the SPIRIT*—was in essential and irreconcilable contradiction to the character of the Eighteenth Seculum. The whole strength and thought of that Seculum was bent towards the everlasting destruction of the basis upon which Quakerism had been built. Its character, as set forth by Fichte, was, "*To accept nothing as really existing or obligatory*

but that which it can understand and clearly comprehend; in which the Age was right: and further, to connect therewith mere empirical and sensuous Experience as its sole measure of the Conceivable; in which the Age was wrong." In this chapter I have to notice the affinity or repulsion between Quakerism, and the *present Age*.

ii. I dare not attempt to give any general character of the present Age. I am too much a creature of it. Nobody sees the battle in which he himself is fighting; if he began to speak of it he would exaggerate, perhaps his own cause and success, perhaps his enemy's cause, his own loss. But *some tendencies* of the Age, which no one can doubt to be general and *distinctive* tendencies, I can give. I can ask—not if the Quaker *Idea*—but if the Quaker *System*, if Quakerism, can adopt these tendencies, with any hope of its growth through the adoption, without certain destruction through the adoption? I say the Quaker *System*, not the *Idea* the sight of which was the cause of Quakerism, for I have already many times proved that *Idea* to be præ-Quaker and post-Quaker, Catholic, Eternal; and I have shown that Barclay, Penn, and others confessed it, indirectly. This *Idea* must be safe amid the tendencies of *any* Age, for it has been the food and light of *all* Ages. It could not be removed or shaken by that principle which Fichte said was *right* in the Eighteenth Century.* It stands in *That* which was before *Ages*, and will be after them.

* Or, rather, as he says, "in the *Third Age*," according to a hypothetical division which he lays down at the beginning of his Lectures.

iii. In stating this or that movement to be a tendency of the Age, I must also state, proleptically, that the *resistance* to this or that movement may be also taken for a tendency of the Age, although really the very reverse. To steal another simile from a battle: If two or three of us, who belonged to an army of fifty thousand *red-coated* men, found ourselves hemmed in and kept in check by a score of *buff-coated* men, we should naturally look upon the battle as an onslaught of *buff-coatedness* upon red-coats. When the smoke cleared away and the battle was over, we might find that these twenty had been the only buff-coats in the field; but till then our personal experience would have been the measure of our apprehension, of our time, and our time's work. Those movements, therefore, can alone be taken *as tendencies* of the Age, to which there is a wide and general confession—a confession from quarters which have little sympathy with one another, and no collusion. Though private experience—the rising up of *self*—will be always endeavoring to prove itself and its own things the tendency, we shall only learn untruth by listening to it. All true insight lies, here as elsewhere, in a *self-forgetting*.

iv. *Catholicity* is the first tendency of the Age which I will mention as a test of the possible arrest of Quaker Decay. The search after Universality, the endeavor to discover an effectual ground of unity, is one of the most open and specific characteristics of our time. It is found in the members of the most opposite Sects, amongst the holders of perpetually irreconcilable opinions. From the old Byzantine Church to the very newest species of

Theist or Atheist, every thoughtful man is craving it—is pointing to some *method* for the realization of it.

v. But it does not only exist in *theories*. Several *practical attempts* at Catholicity are at work among us. The Communist Societies, the Evangelical Alliance, the Catholic Church, are all professed instruments of Catholicity. Every man or sect hoping to bear a part in the development of the *tendency of Catholicity* must belong to one of these Societies, or to some Society founded on the same basis as one of these,—on the basis of community of *Work*, community of *Opinion*, or community of *Nature*. Quakers, as *human beings*, as born in *this Age*, must be partakers in this tendency of the Age—must be thirsting after a Universal Society. This tendency cannot but go on : a Greater than George Fox has set it tending. If, therefore, Quakerism does not assist and forward this tendency, it *puts itself* into the path of destruction : if the weaker tries to stop the stronger which *must* move, the weaker is already lost. To save itself, it must do with the tendencies of the Nineteenth Century what it did with those of the Seventeenth,—seize, master, make them its own. *Can* Quakers translate the tendency of Catholicity *into Quakerism*? If they can, will they do it on the basis of *common Work*, of *common Opinion*, or of *common Nature*?

vi. Mr. Francis Newman, in his *Catholic Union, or Essays toward a Church of the Future*, has brought the Churches, Opinions, and Creeds to his bar, and has bribed them all to say that they can neither of them become the basis of the Universal Church of the Future ;

that its basis must be laid on a *common determination to good deeds*. I leave out what might be hinted, namely, that such a "Catholic Church" *would be* founded upon a creed,—the creed of Francis Newman: "I believe that *the Church, the Bible, and the Incarnate WORD, are delusions.*" The notion is representative, and therefore I take it: the Phalansteries, Communities, Harmonies, Universal Schemes, Positivisms, coming and to come, have the same basis. Can Quakers, by becoming members of a body so foundationed, preserve Quakerism from *death by the tendency to Catholicity*? I scarcely need answer. The very existence of Quakerism stands on the impossibility of *such* a Universal Church. It declares that the Indwelling of GOD'S own SPIRIT is the only universal bond of men possible. It would become unchristian if it gave up that faith. Its Discipline gives it a basis on which it may unite with other men; namely, on other men becoming Quakers. If it gives up this it ceases to be *Quakerism*, and therefore ceases *to be*. Quakerism cannot master the Catholic tendency of the Age by joining in any of its inventions of a basis for *common work*.

vii. A number of good men who see that an agreement to do the same work (in whatever manner the notion may be stated*) can never be the basis of a Universal Society, of a Church of the Future, believe that *agreement in the same opinion* may become such a basis. The most complete attempt to realize this theory is the Evangelical

* Nowhere so well as in Professor Newman's *Catholic Union*.

Alliance. In the hope and faith of the members, *Universal Puritanism* appears to be the form which the Church of the Future will assume. Its creed is so stringent and narrow that it will have hard work with the minds and consciences of men, before it draws them into that *community of religious opinion* which is to be the basis of the coming Church. It shows us of what opinions the external minds and consciences must get rid to be admitted within the sacred body. First, we must not believe that the HOLY SPIRIT of GOD is more authoritative than the holy men whom He inspired, than the words which they spake under His inspiration. It shuts out, therefore, that important and thoughtful body of Christians, the English Unitarians. It shuts out, implicitly, all pure Quakers, all the ancient Friends, and every modern Friend who follows George Fox more closely than the Religious World. Secondly, we must not believe that CHRIST JESUS *has already founded* a Catholic Church: for such a faith would make the work of the Alliance futile, and gratuitously useless. It shuts out all Catholics—English, Greek, Russian, Gallican, or Ultramontanist.

Can Quakerism preserve itself from the verdict of “Death by the tendency to Catholicity”? can it seize and make this tendency its own, by joining the Evangelical Alliance, or any future Body founded on the same basis? I will divide the Quaker *Idea* from the Quaker *Ism*, and show that both make it impossible. In the first place, the Quaker Idea forbids it; for it is the *Catholic* Idea—that the unity of men cannot consist in what they *do*, as the

Socialists, Secularists, and others have said ; nor in what they *think*, as the Evangelical Alliance is saying ;—but in what they *are*, as the Church has declared for eighteen hundred years. The Evangelical Alliance existed, implicitly, in the days of Fox and Burroughs. They called it the *World* ; from it they and all Quakers had escaped. The leaders of the ancient Evangelical Alliance, who are the heroes of the modern Alliance (Owen, Baxter, Prynne, and such men), all believed that Quakers were Jesuits, or the tools of Jesuits. The Quaker Idea *must* immediately perish, anywhere but in Quakerism, or in the Catholic Church.

In the second place, the *Quaker Schism* also anathematizes the Alliance. Mrs. Fry, Joseph John Gurney, William Allen, and some others, have niches in the Hagiology of the Alliance ; and it invites such Quakers to work and pray with it. A holy Quaker may do this *as a Puritan Christian*, as a man who is a Quaker by mere accident. But I am sure no true-hearted and *quakerly* Quaker will do so. The whole spirit of Quakerism forbids it. The holy *Quaker* may say, and say truly, ‘This body of Puritans meets together for the sake of bringing Christians into closer unity with one another : such an object must be pleasing to the SPIRIT of GOD. I do not think I shall disobey Him if I listen to them, perhaps pray with them.’ But *Quakerism* will say, and say consistently, ‘We profess that *we* are *the* body whom the HOLY GHOST draws together ; if men seek unity they ought to *come to us*, amongst whom the Living Source of Unity is known as He is known nowhere else. These prayers and meetings for which you leave us stand in the wills of men.

They do not *wait* for Him to move them; they move themselves the moment they are together.' Every Quaker who takes part in their prayers and meetings is shirking testimony, violating discipline, giving the lie to his own Church. The existence of Quakerism stands on the *untruth and insufficiency* of Puritanism. The only word that George Fox and his fellows had for the very ideal of the Alliance, for its end and hope, was—the *Apostasy*. The moment Quakerism, as such, attempts to enter into *community of opinion* with Puritanism (however broad and “liberal” the *range* of community may be), Quakerism ceases to be quakerly; therefore, it ceases *to be*.

viii. Another basis of Catholicity remains—that of *common nature*. The Catholic Church says, that the WORD has become Man, that the FATHER has united the Humankind indissolubly with Himself in the Person of His SON; so that she looks upon every being in the world as a redeemed creature. No little babe is too ignorant, too weak, too irresponsible, to be taken up in the arms of the Church, baptized in the Name of the FATHER, the SON, and the HOLY GHOST, and claimed for a son or daughter of the LORD of Heaven and Earth. The FATHER and the SON have done for that little babe all that They have done for Saint John or Saint Augustine, Luther or Fox.

In what relation stand the Quaker *Idea* and the Quaker *Schism* to this form of carrying out the tendency of Catholicity? Can the Schism, or *Quakerism*, be saved by making this basis its own?

I think I need say very little in answer to these questions, because the whole of this Essay has been an answer

to them. I have declared all through it my firm faith that the Quaker *Idea* was essentially the Idea of the Catholic Church. I have shown that the *Quaker Schism*, that *Quakerism*, not only never did, but never can, *realize* the Quaker Idea; that it is always leading Quakers to the doubt or denial of it. Sometimes Quakers are moving away from the Idea on one side, towards Scepticism; sometimes they are moving away from it towards Opinionism, on the other side; whereas the true realization of the Idea is always straight before them, between Scepticism and Opinionism (whatever shapes in different Ages those Isms may assume), in the Unchanging Catholic Church.

ix. Another evident tendency of our Age in its religious character, broadly distinguishing it from the last Age, is what is named *Ritualism*. The *resistance to Ritualism* is certainly very strong and loud. But note the *positive* conduct of the resisters. They are acknowledging it to be too strong for them all the while they are opposing it. Chapels and Lecture-halls, where it is preached against with great vigor, are *themselves signs and results* of this Ritualistic tendency: they are covered inside and outside with the Christian symbols of Ritualistic Ages. Tracts against it appear in covers the principles of whose design were studied in the breviaries and missals of the Ritualistic Ages. Christian bodies which for two or three centuries have cried against the use of written prayers, as a barrier to the SPIRIT, are asking for, or adopting, Liturgies as the means of a more Churchly worship. These are signs exhibited by those who seem to *oppose* the tendency. Add to this those exhibited by the men who *welcome*, acknowledge, and foster it. Perhaps a revival of

faith in the Incarnation of the Blessed WORD as sanctifying the whole creation, produces necessarily an increase of Ritualism. For, by it, things which before were thought not only empty of GOD, but even contrary to Him, seem to be filled with the presence of that LORD Who came in the despised and unlikely form of a servant.

x. Can *Quakerism* in any way meet and adopt this tendency? I need scarcely put the question. Quakerism is not merely the vindication of baldness and emptiness; it is the assertion of their *intrinsic worth and right*. To have *no forms, no rites, no symbols, no liturgies*, is the very root of Quaker Ritualism. Here, also, the system of Fox and the Seventeenth Century is in direct contradiction to the *Idea*, the sight whereof made him the builder of that system. The *nearer* the early Quakers felt themselves to the Eternal SPIRIT, the more intensely *Ritual* they became. Their history is full of their adoption of *external signs* as the witnesses and seals of the ministry of the SPIRIT. They went naked; they walked in sack-cloth; they covered their heads with ashes; they wore a different dress from the people of the world. They *do* wear it, as a *sign* that they are not followers of the changing world, but of the Unchangeable SPIRIT. What a justification of the alb and cassock of the Priest, as *representative and minister* of the whole flock of GOD! Ecclesiastical History repeats this lesson again and again, that when men leave the Church which the LORD JESUS began, to make a better Church for themselves, they justify one by one each of those marks of the Church which they had one by one condemned.

CHAPTER III.

- i. Religious tendencies of the Age fighting against Quakerism.
- ii. Non-religious Tendencies—Battle of Quakerism with Æstheticism.
- iii. Quakerism weakened by Quaker Traitors.
- iv. Æstheticism not contrary to the *Idea* of Quakerism.
- v. Anticipated by the Catholic Church—In that which it holds in common with Quakerism—In that which it holds in opposition.
- vi. Æstheticism contrary to the Quaker *Schism*—Solomon Eccles.
- vii. In the War between Æstheticism and Quakerism, Quakerism must lose.

i. In the last chapter I considered two evident and general *religious* tendencies of our Age. I showed the reasons which incline me to believe that these tendencies are not only by their nature destructive to Quakerism, but are also actively *destroying* it. The existence of such tendencies is a declaration by the Age, of war against Quakerism. Quakerism must oppose them and root them out, or oppose them and be rooted out by them, or adopt them, and so become self-contradictory, *unquakerized*.

ii. The same positions are involved in the relation of some of the *non-religious* tendencies of the Age to Quak-

erism. As a representative tendency, I will take that which it is modish at present to call *Æsthetic*, the pursuit of Arts, including Music under that title, and Poetry also. No one, I am sure, doubts the *existence* of such a tendency. The Art Unions, the increase of picture exhibitions, the crowding of them, the illustrated journals, the establishment of Schools of Design, the extended teaching of drawing in public and private schools, are *signs* of this tendency in one direction. The extraordinary increase of musical studies, the choirs and singing-classes rising in every neighborhood, are signs of it in another direction. Nor will any one, I think, doubt the *distinctiveness* of this tendency that it belongs to our Age as it did not to the Seventeenth or Eighteenth Centuries. Men painted, men played and sang, men went to exhibitions and concerts, a hundred years ago. But a class went, a peculiar world: *the people*, so called, took no interest in either. The *Æsthetic* tendency, therefore, is one against which Quakerism has never yet measured its strength. It forbids it presumptively. Its Discipline shuts it out from the holy Society, as an element of the World. But, with the exception of Music, it has never found itself in resolute and difficult contest with any of the forms of that tendency. In this Age it has to test its strength against *all* the forms.

iii. There is one consideration which must effectually weaken Quakerism for such a battle. There is a traitor in the Quaker camp itself. As I said in reference to the other tendencies, so with this: individual Quakers, born and trained in this Age, must be more or less sharers in

its characteristics, must be swayed in some measure by its tendencies. I know noble members of the Society who are active and enthusiastic musicians, painters, and even archæologists. The young Friends are forming Quaker Singing-classes (and oddly enough it strikes one to hear the youths and maids, one moment *violating* testimony by singing heathen songs to some goddess of a month under the name *May*, and, as soon as the song is over, *conforming* to testimony by asking what day of 'fifth month' it is). The older, "weighty, and concerned" Friends look with doubt or opposition on these things. They dare not sanction it. But neither dare they prohibit it; for if they were to carry out Quakerism by putting an end to Quakers' Music, Music might carry the singers out of the Society.

iv. I have stated the actual position of the Quakers in relation to this tendency. I have to show how this tendency affects Quakerism itself—the Quaker *Schism*. Before doing so, I will glance at its relation to the Quaker *Idea*.

The pursuit, then, of *Æsthetics*, the search for a Beauty *above* Nature and Art, *through* Art, Music, Poetry, does not deafen men to the message that "God has come to teach His people Himself;" that He has founded a Universal Spiritual Kingdom for all men and women, and does Himself write the Laws of that Kingdom upon their hearts. But then this *Idea* cannot be claimed by Quakers. I have shown again and again that it was the Idea of the Catholic Church, that the Church was and is the only thorough *expression and form* of that Idea which George

Fox perceived ; and that, therefore, his attempt to *give* that Idea an expression and form, his attempt to make Quakerism its expression, was futile and unnecessary,—because that which he attempted to make, *already existed* ; was schismatic,—because the attempt was a *denial that it did exist*. I shall show that the Idea did exist in the Catholic Church in relation to Æsthetics, hundreds of years before Fox was born. I might quote many passages from S. Clement of Alexandria, which would prove it at once. But we need not go so far back : we need not even go out of our own country. The earliest records of the Church of England supply an excellent instance :—

“In hujus monasterio abbatissæ [Hildæ] fuit frater quidam *divinâ gratiâ specialiter insignis*, quia carmina religioni et pietati apta facere solebat.” “Ipse non ab hominibus, neque per hominem institutus, canendi artem didicit : sed *Divinitus adjutus gratis canendi donum accepit*. Unde nihil unquam frivoli et supervacui poematis facere potuit.” “Visumque est omnibus *cœlestem ei a DOMINO concessam esse gratiam*.”*

The Quaker principle is here exhibited, not as a principle shutting out Art as worldly, not as a sign of the absence of GOD ; but as vindicating Art as churchly, as a sign of the Presence of the Inspiring WORD. Poets,

* See the whole beautiful story of Cædmon, in Bede, *Hist. Eccles.*, lib. iv. cap. xxiv. : *Quod in Monasterio ejus fuerit Frater cui donum canendi sit Divinitus concessum*.—pp. 112, 119. V. Bedæ *Opera Omnia*, vol. iii.; J. A. Giles, LL.D. [8vo., Lond. 1843.]

I owe the suggestion of the use of this story to an admirable series of *Letters on the Study of English History*, signed “H.,” in the *Educational Magazine* for 1841.

Painters, Musicians, in all ages—Heathens or Christians—have claimed an *Entheus* as the origin of their epics, pictures, or hymns. The Church was not the cause of this *Entheus*, any more than she was the cause of the enlightening of every man by the Divine WORD. She was the witness and explainer of it. She told men from Whom it came. She declared “the *unknown* GOD.”

v. But it *was the Church* which declared it. That is, it was that very Body which Quakerism regarded as the extreme and ultimate term of Apostasy, as the body most blind to the Divine Light, the most empty of His Living Presence—it was this Body which asserted That Presence in spheres and tendencies out of which Quakerism excluded It. So, even if Quakerism *permitted* Quakers to exercise themselves in *Æsthetics*, it would become no cause of growth to Quakerism as such. For the principle is anticipated by the Catholic Church, as every true and necessary principle is (or it would not be Catholic), and its assertion by any Sect would be a work of supererogation.

If sanctioned by that which the Church holds in some sense *in common* with the earliest Quakers, it is still more sanctioned by that which the Church holds *in opposition* to them. The Indwelling of the Divine WORD seemed to half the Quaker converts to throw doubt, difficulty, or unimportance, upon His *outdwelling*. They could hardly bring themselves to believe that “the WORD was made *Flesh*.” So confused and contradictory were their glimpses of this truth—the *truth* of the Gospel, that a series of implicit denials of it might be drawn from their

works.* Thus they often asserted that the Light was in them *as He was in CHRIST*; dividing the Eternal WORD from the LORD JESUS. By an easy transition, the extreme Quakers pantheistically imagined themselves *incarnations* of the Divine WORD, as CHRIST JESUS was *an incarnation*, and so lost sight of *The Incarnation*—the hope of every man, the hope of the whole world. This imagination led Naylor and his disciples in their blasphemous and fanatical procession through the streets of Bristol.

The Incarnation gives sacredness to Art, because it is, as I have said before, the vindication of the external World as the work of GOD's hands, as the object of His care; and the vindication of all *human* powers, faculties, pursuits, as the effects of His constitution of mankind.

* In America, where Quakerism had freer play and room for development, *these* were the questions which the leading Quaker ministers were debating upon: Whether CHRIST hath anything in Heaven which he had not before the World was? Whether CHRIST's Body, which the nails entered, did rise to Heaven? It rose, some answered; but when the cloud received Him out of their sight, CHRIST was separated from it. No part of the Virgin's substance, or Man's nature, is in Heaven. An old preacher said, he "could not make up his mind if That Which was crucified *without us* was the Godhead, or the Virgin's substance." Many said, "This is a nicety; and to be ignorant of it, or disbelieve it, does not hinder a man from being a true minister of CHRIST!"—GEORGE KEITH: *Some Reasons and Causes of the late Separation that hath come to pass at Philadelphia, betwixt us called by some the Separate Meeting, and others that meet apart from us*, p. 21. Circ. 1690.

Æsthetic faculties, in all their forms of Picture, Sculpture, Music, Poem, Drama, are provided inherently in His constitution of mankind; for they rise in men, *as men*, wherever men are, in all countries and all times: they are not the mere results of tradition, nor of intercourse between nation and nation.

vi. But the question still remains, Is the *Æsthetic* tendency consistent with the Quaker *Schism*? I have said it is not,—on my own premises: it remains to show that Quakerism itself declares that it is not. I have quoted (in the chapters upon Discipline) its positive prohibition of Music. I wish to show here that the prohibition was inherent in the Quaker *Schism*.

Solomon Eccles, one of the early Quaker missionaries, who at various times accompanied George Fox in his missions was originally a musician. He passed, like the other leading Quakers, through all the stages of Puritanism—the Presbyterian, the Independent, the Anabaptist—into Quakerism. As long as he was “out of the Light” he never questioned the lawfulness of his profession. “But when truth came,” says he, “I was not able to stand before it; the LORD did thunder grievously against this practice; and I would fain have pleaded the harmlessness of it, but no pleading would serve; it was nothing but vanity, and vexed the good SPIRIT of GOD. Oh, it was hard to flesh and blood to give it up, for it was not only my livelihood, but my life was in it. Now the Witness of GOD did often smite me for it before I could yield to the LORD to give it up: and while I, with the wrong thing, strove to prove it lawful, that pure thing that was

sent of GOD took away my peace from me.”* The result was, he carried all his books and instruments to Tower Hill, and burnt them amid the teasings of the mob.

In the form of Picture and Sculpture the *Æsthetic tendency* of the Age is at war, though not with the letter perhaps, yet with the spirit of Quakerism. When Clarkson took the portrait of this Schism, at the beginning of the Century, he spoke of the Arts as implicitly prohibited. A few amateurs, he says, had prints in folios. But in all

* *A Musick Lector ; or, the Art of Musick (that is so much vindicated in Christendome), discoursed of by way of Dialogue between three men of Several Judgments.* The one a *Musician*, and Master of that Art, and zealous for the *Church of England*, who calls Musick *The Gift of God*. The other a *Baptist*, who did affirm it to be a decent and a harmless practice. The other a *Quaker* (so called), being formerly of that Art, doth give his judgment and Sentence against it ; “but yet approves of the Musick that pleaseth God” [*i. e.* Quakerism]. Written by Solomon Eccles. [4to., Lond. 1667, pp. 28.] Pp. 9, 10 : “While I was taught of men, I could follow it (*viz.*), when the Church of England was governed by Episcopal Order I could follow it, and call it *The Gift of God*. When I became a *Presbyter* I made a trade of it, and never questioned it at all : and after that I became an Independent, and I could follow it ; and when I came further and was baptized with water, and eat *Bread and Wine* with them, about the year 1642, they encouraged me in it, and some of them had their children taught on the Virginals. But I went further, and became an *Antinomian* (so called), and then I could teach men’s sons and daughters on the Virginals and on the Viol ; and I got the two last years more than a hundred a year with my own hands, and lived very high, and perceived that the longer I followed it the greater income I had.”

his intercourse with the Quakers he only saw three pictures hanging framed upon the walls—one of Penn's Treaty with the Indians, one of a Slave Ship, and one of Ackworth School. Within the last five or six years, I remember to have seen an article against portraits of any kind, in that strict Quaker periodical, *The Friend*, of Philadelphia. The tendency of Quakerism is not only to be anti-Æsthetic, but to account a value and virtue to lie in being so.*

vii. I think I have thrown some light upon the cause of decay which I mentioned in the commencement of this chapter, namely, that the tendency of Quakerism is essentially *anti-Æsthetic*, and the tendencies of the Age, *Æsthetic*; that by this opposition the Age and Quakerism are pledged to an incessant war—a war of the ghostly strength of the "Seventeenth Century against the living strength of the Nineteenth; and that in this war Quakerism must lose.

* Solomon Eccles, *Musick Lector*, pp. 10, 11: "I have heard divers men, and some of all religions, and almost all people, especially those of the Universities, highly commend Musick. But O, the Truth, the SPIRIT of Truth, nor the children of Truth, can never bear it; but Truth and her children do trample it under foot: 'tis Babylon's, and down it must and shall for ever. And since I, through the good hand of God, had an eye open in me to see where I stood, I soon sided with the Truth, and stood off from the reasoning part (!), and *then* the Zeal of God rose up as hot as fire, and I greatly loathed myself to see what cursed ground I stood in, and I reckon it a happy day that I was redeemed out of a vain practice."

CHAPTER IV.

- i. The *Commercial Tendency* of the Age—Quakers Servants rather than Masters of it—*Decay of Enthusiasm* involves entire decay.
- ii. Losses of Quakerism by the *re-fulfilment* of the Quaker Idea in the Catholic Church—Fulfilment *prior to Quakerism*.
- iii. Fulfilment *coeval* with Quakerism.
- iv. Fulfilment in *our Age*.
- v. Fulfilment, by that School in the English Church now attempting a Reformation—Points of Touch with the old Quaker attempt—*Puseyism* and Popular Unrest—Necessity of the Quaker Principle of *Waiting*.
- vi. Dr. Pusey on the *Inward Presence* of the Word of God—The Quaker Idea.
- vii. On the Principle of *Church Unity*—The Quaker Principle.
- viii. On the Principle of *Conduct*—The Quaker Principle.
- ix. On the Principle of *Discipline*—The Quaker Principle.
- x. The Quaker Idea fulfilled by the most Unquakerly Men, by the Church becoming anti-Quakerly.

i. I MIGHT continue the comparison of Quaker tendencies with the tendencies of this Age, by speaking of its intensely *Commercial* character. But the relation of Quakers to Commerce is too much a matter of proverb and daily experience to need pointing out. It has been

said by all the most thoughtful men of the Age that the Commercial tendency is our most dangerous symptom, because it so easily lapses in the basest of all sins—Money Worship; because the possession of Money is made to excuse a man from the want of everything pure, lovely, noble, and righteous; and because the pursuit of Money is certain death to every other enthusiasm. Money is a more cruel and frightful idol than the Saints, the Surplice, the Directory, or Dipping. But Quakerism in no wise witnesses against the worship of it as it witnessed against the worship of the other four; and if these were the idols of any Romanists, Churchmen, Presbyterians, or Baptists, to the same extent is Money the idol of modern Quakerism. It is said that Whitefield and Wesley complained that their converts, who went to no plays, balls, races, or other *worldly* amusements, yet became worldly by their love of Money. We have seen the same result in Quakerism. The unchurchly prohibition of exercises which are *Human*, and *not carnal*, explains both. Our Divine Discipliner has given us Arts, Music, Poetry, the Drama, as *preservatives* from worldliness,—if acknowledged and used as His gifts. But if we account these themselves worldly, we throw ourselves under the mercy of the World we think to escape: nothing is left for the exercise of our faculties, save eating, drinking, making money. The growth of Quakerism lay in its *enthusiastic* tendency. The submission of Quakers to the *commercial* tendency is a signing away of the life of their own Schism. Pure Enthusiasm and the pursuit of Money (which *is* an enthusiasm) can never co-exist, never co-operate. Where

one is a sign of strength, the other is a sign of weakness. One must always cast out the other before it can hope to carry on its own purposes. What would become of the Quaker bankers if they should be seized with the spirit of Fox and Howgill, and warn every man or woman who came to their desks to cash a cheque, to turn to the Light Within?

ii. But the greatest loss of power reserved for Quakerism is the reassumption by the Catholic Church of those Catholic truths which Quakerism was separated to witness to and vindicate. I have spoken so much of this in scattered places throughout the Essay, that I need add very little here. I shall just say, that the Church *has a right* to fulfill the Quaker Idea (the *Truth* which George Fox and his fellows beheld, as distinct from that individually and secularly characterized *Schism* which they built as a home for that Truth), because *it was in* the Church before George Fox beheld it, as their great Apologist implicitly confesses by his quotations and authorities.

iii. But not only *before* Quakerism, but *coevally with* Quakerism also, the Quaker *Idea*, as distinct from its Schismatic dress, was in the Church. I need only mention the names of Henry More, John Smith, Edmund Elys, in England. Abroad, Ann Docwra asserted that the French Priest Malebranche, and Josiah Martin—that Archbishop Fenelon—were Quakers. Yet More, Malebranche, Fenelon, saw no necessity of Schism involved in their faith.

iv. But I am concerned more with the fulfilment of the Quaker Idea by the Church in *our* Age, and as a cause

of existing Quaker weakness, than with any historical examples of it. I should most strengthen this argument by quoting from books which the circumstances of this Essay preclude me from using. If George Fox could return to the world in our Age, seeking believers in the Inward Light, men who read all the discord and confusion in themselves and in the whole earth by the shining in of the Eternal WORD upon every man, and over every place and thing, he would find them amongst the writers and readers of certain books which the Sects and parties of the Religious World confederate together to misrepresent and abuse.

v. Further, the great point in the History of the Church in England, at this time, will be described by future writers as her intense perception of the necessity of Reformation, her efforts and struggles to reform herself by GOD'S *indwelling* Grace. What George Fox and the Quakers *were* seeking in the Seventeenth Century, what the Quakers as a body are not caring the least about *now*,—that the English Church *is* seeking with all her strength and earnestness; and that is, *the Reformation of the outward and visible Catholic Church*. We have seen that the Apostles of Quakerism witnessed how such a Reformation must be carried on:—by a perception that the Indwelling SPIRIT of CHRIST was the only real Reformer; by all individual Christians realizing more intensely the Presence of GOD *in* themselves, by asserting the unlimited extension of His Grace.

How is that body of priests and laymen in the English Church who call themselves Reformers, who at least en-

deavor to be Reformers, who are known to newspaper writers, and the autocrats of platforms and coteries by the names High Churchmen, Tractarians, Laudians, Puseyites—*how* is this school endeavoring to carry on the Reformation? Platform heroes, the irresponsible autocrats of newspapers, dogmatical ladies and youths, will tell us, 'By priestcraft, by bringing popery into their churches; by lighted candles, altar-cloths, crosses; by nunneries; by music, vestments, continual services, and so on.' Surely, such men are at the very extreme of the Ecclesiastical path to the early Quakers: they seem to make Reformation consist in the introduction and multiplication of the very things, the abrogation and destruction of which to the uttermost was the end of the Quaker Reformation—of that Puritan Reformation in which Quakerism was the last term.

The Quakers were always telling their hearers that they could only understand the work which they were carrying on, by *Waiting*. The bustling, restless spirit was the spirit which the Reformation of God would never touch. "Come out of your bustlings, you that are bustling and in strife one against another," says George Fox, "whose spirits are not quieted, but go on fighting with words, whose hearts turn against each other with a mad blind zeal; who are up in your wantonness, lightness, and pleasures; who set the whole course of nature on fire; among whom the way of peace and that which is perfect is not known."* I think it is this same temper which hinders

* Page 2: *An Epistle to all People on the Earth; and the Ignorance of the World, both Professors and Teachers, of the Birth that*

men from perceiving the Work of GOD in all Ages, which makes them confuse the signs and accompaniments of it with the work itself. Perhaps if *we wait*—if we ask the instruments of GOD in this work what they are hoping and longing to do and see done—we shall perceive more than by bustling with noise and unrest amongst the crew whose trade it is to deceive, and amongst the people who love to be deceived. And surely we can consult no one so fitly as that Christian doctor whose name the noisy multitude have thrust upon the movement. *Puseyism* surely must be the Ism of *Pusey*. Can we not learn it from him, as we have learnt *Foxism* from Fox? Or must we still take mob coteries and newspapers for teachers?

vi. (1.) Dr. Pusey, in the Preface to his *Sermons*, says, there is one Great Repetition he does not wish to avoid—"the inculcation of the Great Mystery expressed in the words, to be '*In CHRIST*,' to be '*Members of CHRIST*,' '*Temples of the HOLY GHOST*,' that CHRIST *doth* through the HOLY GHOST Whom He hath given unto us, *dwell really and truly* in the hearts of the faithful. This doctrine he has the more insisted upon, as it is to be feared that it is habitually neglected, even by many who do not in words deny it." *

must be Silent, and of the Birth which is to speak; and of the difference between Silence and Speaking. Also showing that it was the practice of many to wait in Silence upon God, to hear His Word and know His Voice. [London, 4to., 1657, p. 20.]

* *Sermons during the Season from Advent to Whitsuntide*, p. 5, [2nd edition, 8vo., Oxford, 1848.]

vii. (2.) "The writer has long felt that a fuller appreciation of this doctrine might be the most hopeful means of reuniting earnest persons who now think themselves farther apart from each other than they really are. In different ways the impression was forced upon him, that pious men, who themselves are suspicious of their brethren and have brought heavy accusations against them, as though they 'corrupted the Gospel of CHRIST,' were really only anxious as to this, that nothing should be said or taught which should in any way interfere with 'looking unto JESUS, as the Author and Finisher of our faith,' our only Hope and Confidence, our Help and Refuge. And whereas they themselves often use unguarded language, both as to the Church and the Sacraments, at which others, in their turn, take offence, he felt persuaded that they only meant this, that nothing is to occupy the place of CHRIST *in the soul*." *

viii. (3.) "The Grace of CHRIST must precede our good will, must create it: the Grace of CHRIST must sustain our good will: the Grace of CHRIST must perfect it. Yet it is *in* us, not without us, that He perfects our good will: He builds us up, not as dead stones, without our will, but as living stones, *with a Life from Himself*, with our will." "The works, though wrought *in* us, are more the works of GOD than ours." †

ix. (4.) "It may be said to all parents, Ye may safely, ye cannot too early or too earnestly, press upon your children that they are the temples of the HOLY GHOST, and 'therefore reverence thou Him That dwelleth within.'

* *Sermons*, &c., p. 6.

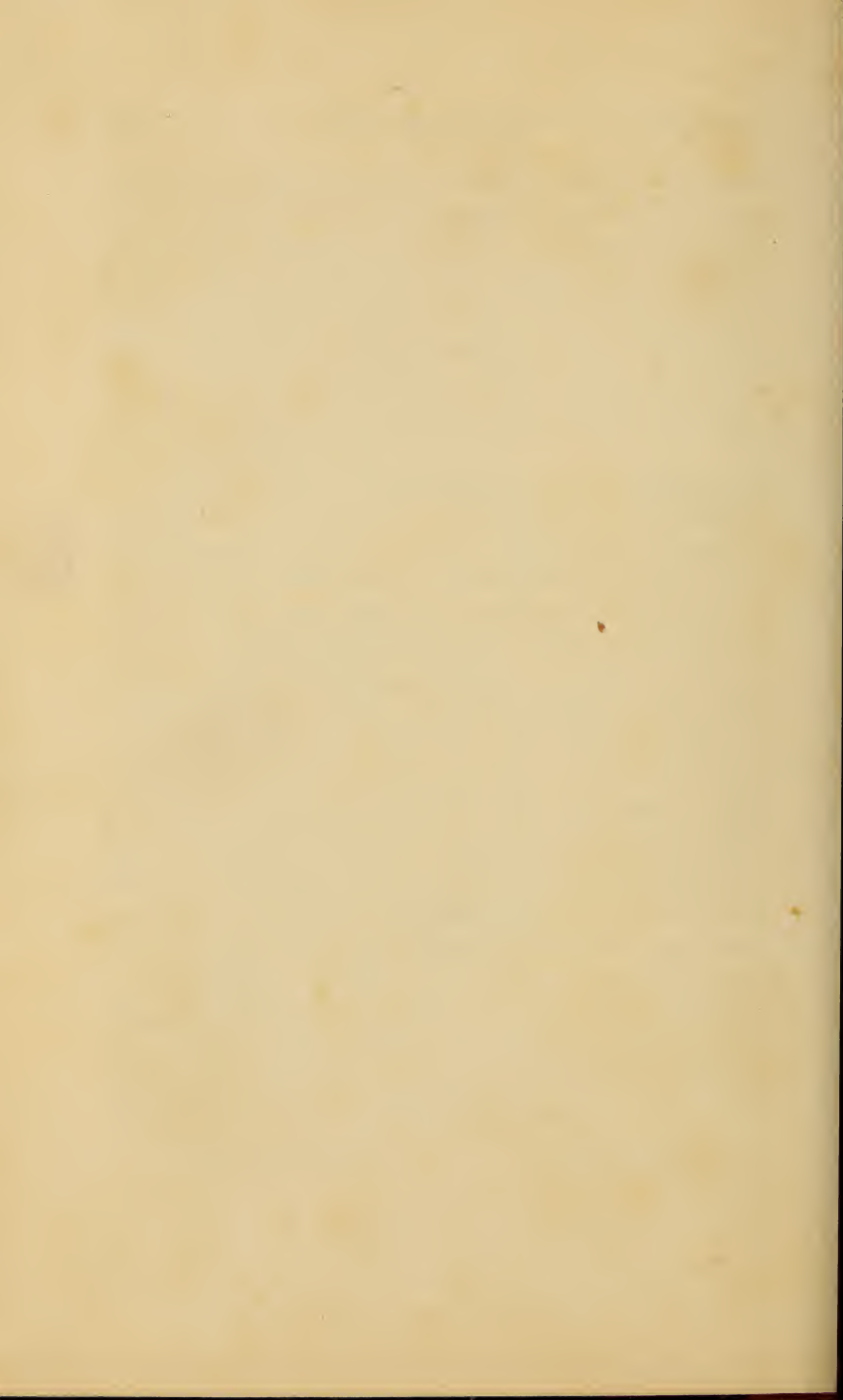
† *Sermons*, &c., p. 15.

‘What you would not do if I were by, that do not when alone; for you are in the Presence of God, and He is as much within you as your own soul.’ ‘I recollected,’ said a little child who had been so taught, ‘that I was the temple of the HOLY GHOST, and left off, ashamed, what I was speaking.’” * “How, among us elders, would back-bitings, or unloving or vain or proud words, cease, if we recollected that our tongues are members of that body *wherein CHRIST dwells.*” †

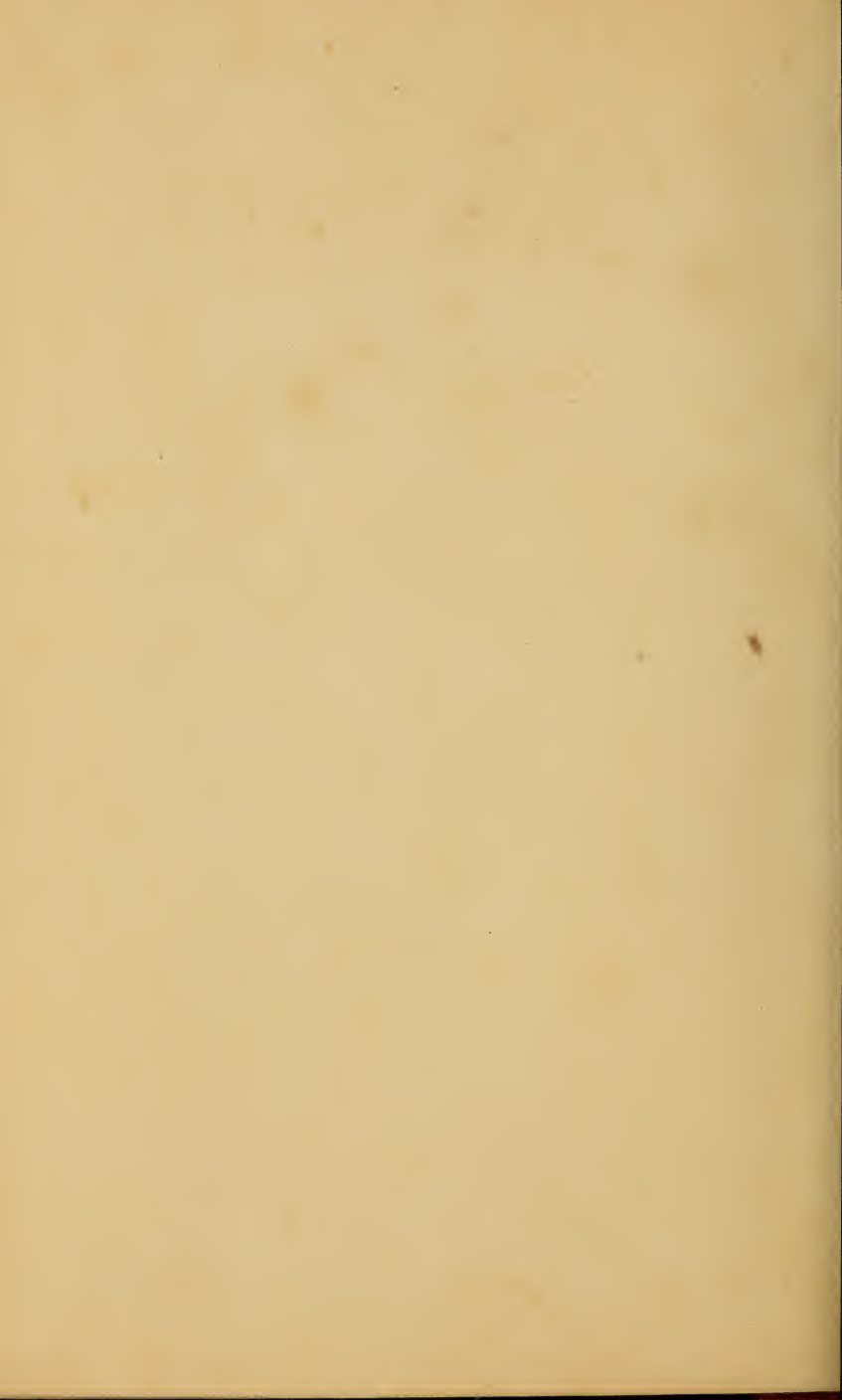
x. All the sermons of this eminent doctor, the supposed leader of the movement for Reformation in the English Church, breathe the same spirit. In the four extracts I have made, from the preface alone, Quakers may find the essence of their own founder’s perceptions and wants expressed. In the first, the Quaker principle of an Inward Divine WORD in the *individual soul*. In the second, the Quaker principle of the Indwelling SPIRIT as the *bond of Church unity*. In the third, His moving of the will as the principle of *Christian conduct*. In the fourth, the principle of effectual *Discipline and Education*. And these perceptions of the first Quakers are found to be fulfilled in the Church, by one who is at the extremest distance from the Quaker formalism of *no forms*, not by one who is nearing that formalism of no forms;—are found to be fulfilled—not when she becomes unchurchly—not when she gives up, but when she sees most in, Sacraments, Rites, written Offices—not when she slackens her hold of, but when she grasps most firmly, her sacrificing Priesthood and her Apostolical Succession.

* *Sermons*, &c., p. 26.

† *Ibid.* p. 27.





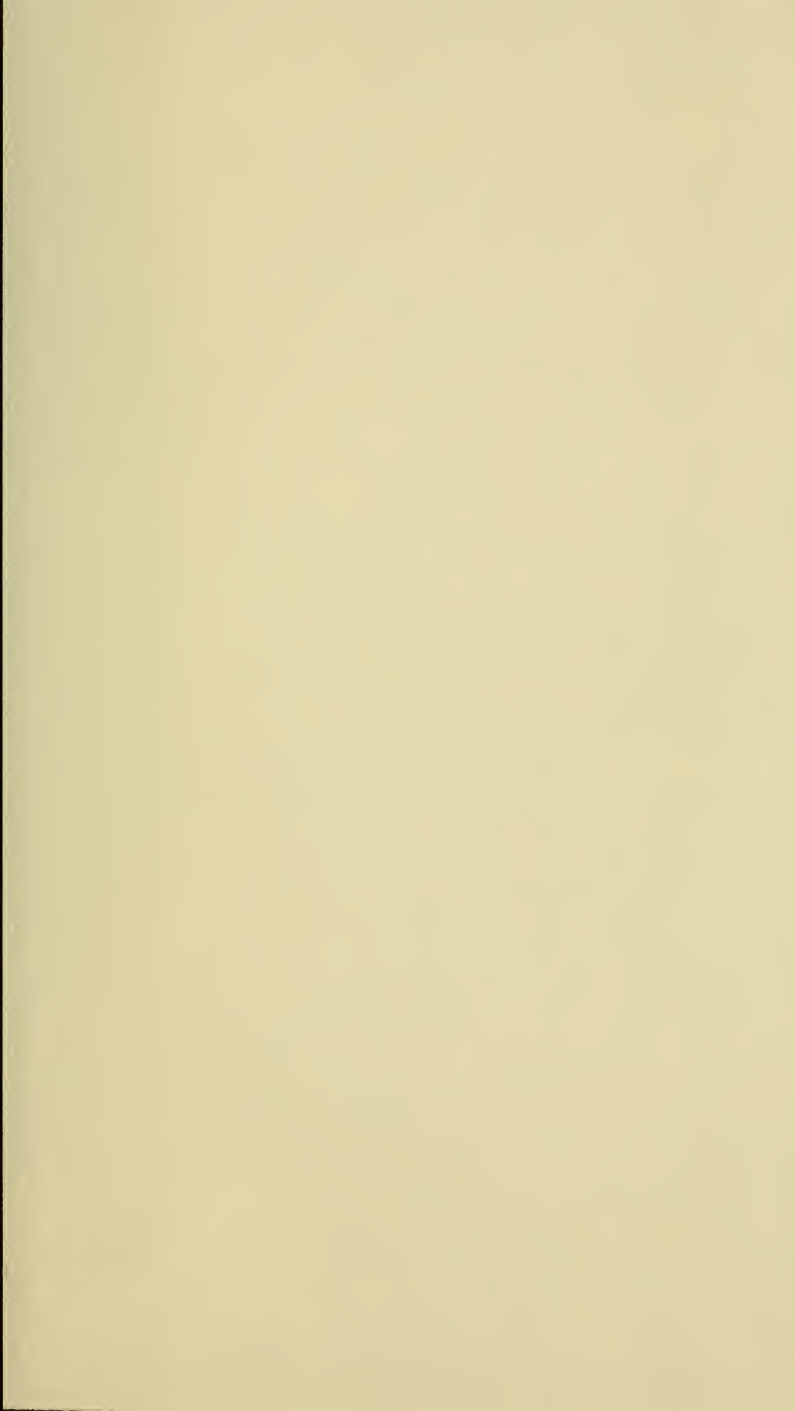




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